A PRIMER OF ROMAN HISTORY

ALEXANDER DUTHIE

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AUGUSTUS ADDRESSING HIS TROOPS

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A PRIMER OF ROMAN HISTORY

BY

ALEXANDER DUTHIE M.A.

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PREFACE

It is hardly possible to conceive of a secondary education in any part of the civilized world which should entirely omit the history of Rome. This little book, therefore, aims at presenting the minimum of Roman history for any such course, but at presenting it in such a way as to stimulate a desire for more, which larger books are there to satisfy. Within its narrow limits it tries to point out the meaning and importance of events as fully as the events themselves. It does not talk down to some imaginary reader of very tender years and slender intelligence, as so many elementary books of history do. Needless to say, it is entirely derived from the standard works on the subject, which are mentioned in a note overleaf.

A. D.

NOTE ON AUTHORITIES

THEODOR MOMMSEN'S *History of Rome* is the great modern authority. Of books intermediate in scope between it and this primer may be specially recommended the Roman histories of How and Leigh, Pelham, and Myres, and also *The Tutorial History of Rome*. Warde Fowler's *Rome* ("Home University Library") is excellent for the *spirit* of Rome. The Cambridge *Companion to Latin Studies* is a mine of information on all subsidiary matters.

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A PRIMER OF ROMAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE ROMANS

Introductory. It was the custom in Victorian England to derive our country's greatness from the virtues of our "Teutonic" ancestors. Of this "Teutonic" school Professor E. A. Freeman was one of the leading teachers. Yet, in reviewing Mommsen's *History of Rome*, Freeman wrote as follows: "The history of Rome is the greatest of all historical subjects, for this simple reason, that the history of Rome is in truth synonymous with the history of the world. . . . Greece can only reach us by way of Italy; the Athenian speaks to modern Europe almost wholly through a Roman interpreter. We profess a religion of Hebrew origin; but the oracles of that religion speak the language of Greece, and reached us only through the agency of Rome." In these days, therefore, when the "Teuton" has fallen out of favour, we need not hesitate to give some of our time to the study of the Roman people. Let us plunge at once into the middle of things.

A Roman Triumph. An intelligent foreigner, if he could be imagined as present in the Roman Forum on a certain day in the autumn of 275 B.C., while finding it rather a mean public square, would still have been much interested in the cheering crowd that filled it and the long procession that passed through it and climbed up the slope of the Capitoline Hill to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The procession consisted of thousands of prisoners of war, mostly in Grecian dress; of wagons full of gold and silver

plate, of paintings and statuary; of a car drawn by four horses, in which rode a man in a gaily embroidered gown, with a wreath of laurel on his head and his face painted red; and of a Roman army 'marching easy' and singing as it marched. Inquiries among the crowd would have elicited the information that the man in the four-horse chariot was Manius Curius Dentatus, the plebeian consul; that he had just conquered the people of Tarentum, with their ally the Greek king Pyrrhus, at Malventum; and that almost the whole of Italy had now submitted to Rome. The intelligent foreigner would have wondered how all this had come about, and what was likely to happen next. We will try to satisfy him on the first point, and then relate in order what did happen next.

The City. Consider first the situation of Rome. It is in Italy, which runs down roughly from north to south in such a way that, with the island of Sicily, it divides the Mediterranean Sea into two equal parts. Rome is about the centre of Italy on its western side; a few miles up from the sea, so that it is fairly safe from attack by ships; and it occupies a strong position on some low hills overlooking the most considerable river on the western side of the peninsula. If Rome could first master the country in its immediate neighbourhood it would then occupy the inner lines and could strike north or south as it chose. And if it could once master the whole of Italy it could, in the same way, strike in any direction. Its situation, therefore, was very favourable for the conquest of the ancient world, which lay around the shores of the "Midland" Sea. But a favourable situation will not in itself conquer the world. It needs a remarkable people to do that.

The People. Rome was one of the thirty cities of the Latins, who occupied the plain of Latium to the south of the Tiber; and the Romans were content to call their language *Latin*. It was demonstrated more than a hundred years ago that all the great languages from India to Iceland are

related. For example, the Greek *pater*, the Latin *pater*, the English *father*, and the German *Vater* are all obviously the same word, or descended from the same word. Hence it was argued that all the different nations who speak these languages were descended from the same stock, and the name *Aryan* was applied to them all. This argument, however, is not very sound, for a nation may change its language without thereby changing its blood; but we may still accept the general relationship and particularly the relationship between the Greeks and the Romans. Yet even these two nations had parted company long before written history begins, and the Romans who crowded the Forum to see our triumphal procession in 275 B.C. would have been very indignant if the intelligent foreigner had told them that they were closely related to the Greek prisoners who formed part of the procession.

The Latins had long since reached the settled agricultural stage of civilization. The bulk of the Romans also, for centuries after their conquests began, were farmers, cultivating and living on their fields, and coming into the town only for business or protection. Their army, when an army was needed, was merely a militia, serving in summer and returning to its regular work when the campaign was over. All the Latin towns took part in the Latin Festival (*feriae Latinae*), which was celebrated on the Alban Mount on an appointed day at the beginning of the year; an ox—the ploughing animal—was sacrificed to the Latin god (Jupiter Latiaris), and each town received its portion of the roasted sacrifice.

An agricultural community is generally conservative; the Romans were conservative to an extraordinary extent. No phrase is commoner in their debates, even down to Cicero's time, than *mos maiorum*, "the custom of our ancestors." "Find out," they would say, "what our ancestors did in the like circumstances, and take that for your guiding principle." This conservatism is best illustrated by another famous

phrase and the thing it represented—*patria potestas*, "the father's power." In all primitive communities the head of the house has unlimited power (*ius vitae necisque*) over wife and children, slaves and cattle—witness Abraham's dealings with Hagar, Ishmael, and Isaac; but at Rome this power remained in practice long after the primitive stage had been passed. It was probably in full vigour in 275 B.C., and it remained in the body of Roman law for centuries after that date. Now wherever *patria potestas* is in active operation the *individual* counts for little, and the *family* is everything; and, when a number of families combine to form a city-state, by a natural analogy the *family* counts for little, and the *State* is everything. Here is the great difference between Rome and Athens, and here, if anywhere, is the secret of the Roman power. At Athens the State gave the individual full scope to develop his individuality; a Roman citizen, however distinguished, is merely the servant of the State, and, having done his duty, however prominent he may have been, becomes once more an ordinary citizen. When we come to men who are obviously fighting 'for their own hand' we shall know that the Roman Republic is passing away.

Two or three other Roman words are worth looking at for the light they cast on the national character. Curiously enough, each of them has passed into English, but the English meaning is thin compared with the Latin. Take first *gravitas*. That was the characteristic on which the Romans most prided themselves; perhaps 'seriousness' will serve to translate it; the literal meaning is 'weight.' The Greeks and the Gauls, according to the Romans, were full of *levitas*—'lightness,' 'silliness,' 'fickleness.' The Roman had little humour, little imagination, little of the spirit of adventure. He took things as he found them; lived in the real world, not in the realms of fancy and fiction; and did with all his might the duty that lay nearest him in a calm and dignified way. That is what he meant by *gravitas*.

Then there is *pietas*—very different from 'piety.' It

signifies rather a general 'dutifulness,' the satisfying in full of all claims that parents, country, and the gods have upon one in the course of nature. In a way it is the complement of the *patria potestas*, the acceptance of that in a cheerful spirit.

Lastly, take *virtus*—not merely 'virtue' vague and undefined, nor 'courage' on the field of battle, but the spirit of full-grown 'manhood,' that dares do all that may become a man.

We shall see these words translated into action presently, and then we shall have some understanding of the character of these Romans, "the lords of all the world, the nation of the toga."

The Roman Government. Our intelligent foreigner, besides watching the scenes in the Forum, would investigate the Roman system of government, and would make the following brief notes.

(1) The executive power was in the hands of *two* magistrates—a favourite trick with the Romans—called *consuls*. They were elected for one year, and their names were used as a date for the year in which they held office. They had equal powers, but, if both were in the city at the same time, they acted alternately for a month at a time. To mark their dignity they wore a toga with a purple border and purple shoes; in the streets they were preceded by twelve *lictors*, each lictor carrying on his shoulder a bundle of rods (*fasces*), signifying the consul's power to inflict punishment; and when presiding over a meeting they sat on an ivory-inlaid chair, shaped something like a camp-stool (*sella curulis*). In time of war the consuls commanded the army, either each taking half, or each commanding the whole on alternate days. In the field the lictors affixed an axe-head to their bundle of rods, to signify that the consul now had power of life and death.

(2) The consuls were elected by an assembly of the whole body of the citizens, constituted in a particular way (*comitia*

centuriata). This assembly also passed new laws or repealed old ones, and declared war and concluded peace. It was, therefore, the *sovereign power* in the State. The consular lictors lowered their *fasces* in presence of this assembly, and no citizen could be put to death without the right of appeal to it (*provocatio*). It met outside the walls, on the level ground in the bend of the river (Campus Martius).

(3) The consuls were assisted by a body called the Senate, or the Fathers. They were three hundred in number, and most of them had already been magistrates. Strictly speaking, they could only give advice to the consuls. In early times their consent (*auctoritas*) had to be given before any law was submitted to the people, and they gave audience to foreign ambassadors. There their powers ended. They wore a tunic with a broad purple stripe (*tunica laticlavia*), which showed at the breast under their ordinary toga, a gold ring, and shoes adorned with an ivory crescent.

The Social System. Our intelligent foreigner was informed that Manius Curius was a *plebeian*, and on further inquiry he would have learned that the Romans were divided into *patricians* and *plebeians*, although the distinction by that time meant very little. The patricians were the descendants of the original families who together founded Rome; the plebeians were the descendants of outsiders who had joined the community later on. The patricians for a long time had kept the plebeians out of all share in the government and all the rights of citizenship; the plebeians had got all they wanted a century ago, but every one still knew who were patricians and who were plebeians. There were probably some people still in existence in 275 B.C. who called themselves *clients* of some particular patrician family, and resembled the vassals of a feudal lord in the Middle Ages; but on the whole the clients were by this time merged among the plebeians. The question of the origin of clients and plebeians, and the difference between them, is one of the most difficult in Roman history.

And finally, as in every ancient community, there were the slaves. The prisoners in the triumphal procession would become slaves if they could not ransom themselves, and the descendants of slaves remained slaves, except an occasional one who received or bought his freedom from his master and became a freedman (*libertinus*). Roman slaves were treated rather harshly, especially those who were employed in the country.

The Peoples of Italy. (1) The central parts of Italy were occupied by tribes more or less akin to the Latins—the Sabines, the Volscians, the Hernicans, the Samnites, the Umbrians. (2) The southern coasts were studded with Greek colonies, to such an extent that the whole district was often called Great Greece (Magna Graecia). (3) North of the Tiber, in the modern Tuscany, lay the Tuscans or Etruscans, with their federation of twelve cities. They also at one time controlled the country south of Latium. Their vast city-walls can still be seen, and many inscriptions have been unearthed in their cemeteries, but their language is still a puzzle to scholars. The common tradition was that they came from Lydia in Asia Minor. (4) The valley of the Po (Padus), the most populous part of modern Italy, was occupied by the Gauls and called Gaul-on-this-side-of-the-Alps (Gallia Cisalpina), not being reckoned part of Italy at all.

We shall now turn to the history of Rome, but the student must be warned that history in a literary form did not appear at Rome till after the time at which this chapter began. The early history is therefore largely made up of legends handed down among the people in general, of the traditions of the great patrician houses, and the meagre records kept by the priests. An important part of the funeral of a noble Roman consisted of the funeral speech (*laudatio*) pronounced by the chief mourner, and on such an occasion the great deeds of the dead man's ancestors would undoubtedly be recited. Some of the finest of the old stories probably were derived from that source. Though these legends may not be strictly true, yet

they were believed by the Romans ; and what people believe has an important influence on their character and actions. If the Romans had not believed the story of the expulsion of the kings Julius Caesar would not have been assassinated. We must therefore know something about the old legendary history.

CHAPTER II

LEGENDS OF THE SEVEN KINGS AND OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Romulus. When Troy was captured by the Greeks, perhaps about 1100 B.C., the Trojan Aeneas escaped, and after many wanderings landed in Italy. He married Lavinia, daughter of King Latinus, and founded the city of Lavinium. His son Ascanius, or Iulus, transferred the kingdom to Alba Longa, and there his descendants—of whom several were named Silvius—reigned for three hundred years. At last one Amulius drove out his brother Numitor and made Rhea Silvia—Numitor's daughter—a Vestal Virgin. But Rhea bore twin sons, Romulus and Remus, whose father was the god Mars, and these the usurper ordered to be cast into the Tiber. They were thrown up alive by the river, suckled by a she-wolf, and brought up by a shepherd named Faustulus. Remus was captured by Amulius, and Faustulus told Romulus of his suspicion that he and Remus were of the blood royal. Romulus therefore slew Amulius and restored Numitor to the throne, and founded a city for himself on the Palatine Hill at the spot where he had been cast up by the river, calling it Rome after his own name. Remus in sport leaped over the humble walls of the little town, and was killed by his angry brother. A refuge (*asylum*) was opened for outcast men on the Capitoline Hill, and wives were obtained by inviting the Sabines to some games and seizing their daughters while the games were in progress. War with the Sabines followed. Their king Titus Tatius was admitted into the citadel on the Capitoline by Tarpeia, daughter of the officer in command. She asked as reward what they carried on their left arms, meaning their rings and bracelets, but they cast on her their shields and pressed her to death. In the battle that followed

the Sabine women rushed in between their husbands and fathers and made peace. The two peoples combined, keeping their two kings, and the united people were called *Quirites*, from the Sabine town of Cures ; but when Tatius was killed at Lavinium Romulus reigned alone. After extending the territory of his city in various directions he suddenly disappeared from the Campus Martius during a thunderstorm. It was believed that he had been taken up to heaven by his father Mars, and he was subsequently worshipped as a god under the name of Quirinus.

Numa. After an interval the people chose as king—and the Senate sanctioned the choice—Numa Pompilius, a good and wise Sabine who lived at Cures. He founded all the famous religious institutions of the Romans, such as the six Vestal Virgins—four in number originally, afterward six—who kept alive the fire in the temple of Vesta—the symbol of the city's life ; and the temple of Janus, whose doors stood open in time of war and were closed in time of peace ; also the Salii, the leaping priests of Mars, who guarded the sacred shield that fell from heaven and the eleven others made like it.

Tullus. The third king, Tullus Hostilius, was a warrior like Romulus. In his reign there was war with Alba, and it was decided by a combat between three Roman brothers called Horatii and three Alban brothers called Curiatii. Two of the Romans were slain, but the third slew all the three Albans, who had been wounded in the previous fighting. As he returned to the city with the spoils of the slain, his sister wept, for she had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii and had woven the cloak which he wore in the battle. Horatius slew his sister, but the people pardoned him after he had passed under a beam fixed across a narrow street near where the Colosseum stood in later years. Alba was destroyed soon after this and its people transferred to Rome.

Ancus and Tarquinius Priscus. In the reign of the fourth king, Ancus Marcius, the territory of the city was extended down to the sea, and the port of Ostia was founded at the

mouth of the Tiber. In this reign also there came to Rome a man named Lucumo with his wife Tanaquil. He was the son of a Greek called Demaratus, who had been driven from Corinth and had settled in the Etruscan town of Tarquinii; and so Lucumo, when he settled in Rome, took the name of Lucius Tarquinius, to which Priscus was added later. On the death of Ancus he had himself made king, and began to surround the city with a new wall. He also drained the valleys between the hills by means of a huge sewer (Cloaca Maxima), which still exists, and laid the foundations of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. Tarquinius was assassinated by the sons of Ancus, after reigning thirty-eight years, but Tanaquil contrived to keep the kingly power for her son-in-law Servius Tullius. This man had been a slave-boy in the royal house, but a miraculous flame that played around his head as he lay asleep had caused Tanaquil to take him under her special care.

Servius Tullius. On his accession Servius married his two daughters to the two sons of his predecessor, hoping in this way to make his own position safe. He enclosed the seven hills (*septimontium*) with a wall and a ditch five miles long, of which some parts still remain, and founded the temple of Diana on the Aventine as a sanctuary of the Latin League. But his great work was a new division of the people according to their wealth—which would at first be land—and chiefly with a view to a more efficient army. Of the five classes the wealthiest, which would also be the smallest, was divided into eighty *centuries* (a *century* should mean a group of a hundred, but later it would mean simply a division); the next three had twenty centuries each, and the fifth thirty-two. Each class had to appear in certain armour, the wealthiest being most fully equipped and the others in descending proportion. At the head of all were eighteen centuries of knights (*equites*), who had to appear on horseback, while all whose income fell below a certain amount (*i.e.*, originally, who had no *land*) were placed in one century and were not liable to serve at all. This

division was the origin of the *comitia centuriata*, and several points should now be noted concerning it. (1) It was really the Roman army (*exercitus*), and is sometimes called by that name. Hence it met *outside the walls*, for the Romans permitted no military display inside the city, except during a triumph. (2) It comprised the whole body of citizens. (3) But, as each *century* had *one vote*, the first class and the knights—*i.e.*, the wealthy citizens—if they combined, could outvote all the other classes.

In spite of his precautions Servius met with a violent death. Of his two daughters, both named Tullia, one was gentle and the other haughty, and the same was true of the two sons of Tarquin, Lucius and Aruns; but Lucius the haughty married the gentle Tullia, while the fiery Tullia became the wife of Aruns the mild. After a time the two haughty ones murdered the two gentle ones and married each other. Then Lucius threw Servius down the steps of the Senate-house (*curia*), and sent men to kill him as he fled to his palace on the Esquiline Hill. There, as his body lay in the street, his daughter drove over it in her chariot, and the street was afterward called "the Accursed Street" (*sceleratus vicus*).

Tarquinius Superbus. So Lucius Tarquinius Superbus became the seventh and last king, and ruled harshly. He extended the power of Rome over the Latins and captured the town of Gabii by a trick. For his son Sextus went over to the people of Gabii, pretending that he had been ill-treated by his father; and, when the Gabians received him kindly, he killed their chief men and handed over the town to his father.

It was this Sextus that "wrought the deed of shame" which brought about the expulsion of the kings. For while the Romans were besieging Ardea the young princes and their cousin, Tarquinius Collatinus, dined together and fell to speaking of their wives. On the proposal of Collatinus they rode back to Rome, and found the royal ladies feasting and revelling, but at Collatia they "found Lucrece" (*i.e.*, Lucretia),

REMAINS OF THE WALL OF SERVIUS TULLIUS

the wife of Collatinus, " combing the fleece under the midnight lamp." So Sextus was smitten with a base love for Lucrece, and a few days later rode back to Collatia and did violence to her. In the morning Lucrece summoned her husband and her father, with their friends Publius Valerius and Lucius Junius Brutus ; she told them her story and stabbed herself with a knife. Then the four men swore on the knife to take vengeance on the Tarquins. They stirred up the people with the story of Lucrece, drove out the Tarquins who were in the city, and closed the gates on the King when he hastened back from Ardea. Sextus fled to Gabii and was killed there. The King with two other sons fled to Caere in Etruria. These events happened in 510 B.C.

The first consuls of the new republic which now succeeded the monarchy were Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, but Collatinus was presently asked to leave the city, simply because of his name, and Publius Valerius was chosen in his place. It was this Valerius who gave the citizens the right of *provocatio* (see p. 16). A plot was soon formed among the young nobles to restore the Tarquins, but it was disclosed by a slave, and the two sons of Brutus, who were among the conspirators, were executed before their father's eyes. Then Lars Porsena of Clusium tried to restore the kings by force, but he was checked by the brave Horatius, who held the wooden bridge (*pons sublicius*) across the Tiber until it was cut down.

In 497 B.C. the Latins tried to overthrow the Roman leadership, but they were defeated at Lake Regillus near Tusculum. For this war the powers of the consuls were suspended, and Aulus Postumius was appointed dictator. A dictator was really the king come back again ; he was attended by twenty-four lictors, and they showed the axe-heads in their *fasces* even inside the city, signifying that the dictator could apply military law everywhere. He kept his power for six months only—that is, for the particular summer campaign for which he had been appointed. He chose his

own lieutenant, who was called the master of the horse (*magister equitum*). The story was told that in this battle the Romans were assisted by the gods Castor and Pollux, who carried the news of victory to Rome and vanished from sight of men in the Forum, beside the temple of Vesta. A temple was built to them on this spot, and the knights held a procession in their honour ever after on July 15, the anniversary of the battle. The Latin League, with Rome at its head, was formally renewed by Spurius Cassius in 493 B.C., and the Hernicans were admitted soon after.

Legends. The next hundred years yield many legends of the wars against the Volscians and the Aequians south and east of Latium, and with the Etruscan city of Veii across the Tiber. We can see that Rome is often hard pressed, but on the whole is steadily gaining ground, with the help of the Latin League.

Gaius Marcius Coriolanus in 493 captured the Volscian town of Corioli by rushing through the gates with the fleeing Volscians. Afterward he was banished by the people and joined the Volscian king. He marched against the city with a Volscian army, and was deterred from attacking it only by the entreaties of his wife and mother, who went out to meet him; and he died an exile among the enemies of his country.

In 477 the family (*gens*) of the Fabii tried by themselves to hamper the attacks of the people of Veii by establishing a military post on the little river Cremera, a tributary of the Tiber, on which Veii stood. But they became careless and perished to a man, 306 of them, in an ambuscade. Only one little boy of the name survived. He was too young to go to the wars, and he was the ancestor of any Fabius whom we shall meet later. This is an example of the kind of story that would be told in a funeral *laudatio*. It may be true in part, but it is hardly credible that a house or clan which could produce 306 fighting men should leave only *one* boy at home.

In another battle with the Veientines in 437 Cornelius Cossus, the Roman leader, slew Lars Tolumnius, the king of the Veientines, and thus gained what the Romans called the *spolia opima*.[1]

In 458 the Aequians hemmed in a Roman army on Mount Algidus, near Alba Longa. The Senate appointed Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator. Its messengers found him ploughing on his little farm beyond the Tiber, and to his farm he returned when his work was done. He raised an army and ordered each man to take with him twelve wooden stakes. He surrounded the Aequians in the silence of night with a ditch and a palisade made with the stakes carried by his men, and the Aequians at daybreak, finding themselves between two Roman armies, surrendered to the dictator.

Veii was captured at last in 396, after a ten years' siege, by Marcus Furius Camillus, who drove a mine under the city walls. Falerii also surrendered to him in admiration of his uprightness ; for a schoolmaster of the town treacherously led into the camp of Camillus the boys entrusted to his care, but Camillus ordered the boys to whip their master back into the town.

The Gauls. Camillus fell into disfavour with the people through his division of the Veientine spoils, and went into exile at Ardea. While he was absent a tribe of Gauls under their chieftain Brennus swooped down from the north, defeated the Romans at the river Allia, and destroyed the whole city of Rome except the Capitol, where a garrison held out under Marcus Manlius (390). The hill was almost captured one night, but Manlius was wakened by the cackling of the geese sacred to Juno, which were kept on the Capitol. He hurled down the topmost Gaul, whose fall threw the others into confusion. Camillus was summoned from exile and made

[1] When the leader on one side slew and stripped the leader on the other side he was said to gain the *spolia opima*, which he dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius. This was done three times, by Romulus, Cossus, and Marcellus (see Chapter V).

dictator. He defeated the Gauls and compelled them to give up all their booty. This last part of the story is not very probable ; it is more likely that the Gauls simply wandered away, after the barbarian fashion.

This destruction of Rome was not an unmitigated disaster, because the Etruscans had suffered as heavily from the Gauls as the Romans, and did not possess the same power of recuperation ; they were never afterward able to meet the Romans in the field without assistance from other races.

In the course of these wars we hear of the Romans establishing *colonies* in conquered territories. It was the Roman custom to take from a conquered town part of its territories and settle on it a number of Roman citizens, who not only tilled the land, but also acted as a permanent garrison. Thus Velitrae was made a colony in 494, Ardea in 442, and Circeii in 393. In some cases the settlers retained their full rights as Roman citizens, and then it was said to be a *Roman* colony ; in other cases they retained only some of their rights, and then it was a *Latin* colony. The latter was the common course.

Some Criticism of the Legends. It is easy to believe that Rome was once ruled by kings, for kingship is a regular stage in political development. The king is the head of the State in exactly the same way as the father is head of the house. But it is extremely unlikely that *seven* kings reigned for 243 years. No seven successive kings anywhere cover such a long period.

Similarly, it is quite likely that Rome was founded from Alba Longa, as an outpost of the Latin League against the Etruscans. But it was not founded by Romulus. Rather Romulus was invented, according to a common practice, to explain the name Roma. A city named after Romulus would have been called Romulia or some similar name.

Contradictions are common. For example, it is said that the mother of Romulus was a Vestal Virgin, and that the Vestal Virgins were instituted by Numa.

The stories of the Tarquins and Lars Porsena probably

disguise the fact that Rome for a time was conquered by the Etruscans. The chronology of the Tarquins is difficult. Priscus came to Rome about 640, and Superbus died at Cumae about 490—that is, the lives of father and son cover about 150 years—which is very uncommon, to say the least. Then, according to the common version, Superbus was both brother-in-law and son-in-law of Servius Tullius. Some versions, recognizing these difficulties, make Superbus the grandson of Priscus. The idea of an Etruscan army being foiled by the bravery of a single man and the cutting down of a wooden bridge is rather too patriotic to be true. Another part of the story says that Porsena forbade the Romans to use iron, which would seem to imply that he conquered and disarmed them. But, to repeat, these legends should be studied as a revelation of the Roman character and the early Roman ideals.

CHAPTER III

PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS

The Patricians. From a critical examination of the legends and a comparison with other nations we can deduce the following facts. (1) The unit of the Roman State was the *family*, but in a wider sense than the word now carries. A family in primitive times means all the descendants of the oldest living male ancestor, and he alone is the father of a family (*pater familias*), with the father's power. A father of a family in our sense is not a *pater familias* if his own father is still alive. (2) A number of families—theoretically ten—combine to form a house or *clan* (*gens*), and all the members of a *gens* believe themselves to be descended from the same remote ancestor. A Roman's middle name tells the *gens* to which he belongs; thus Gaius Julius Caesar belongs to the Julian house (*gens Iulia*). (3) A number of clans—theoretically ten—combine to form a *curia*, which is a difficult word to translate—say *wardship*. Probably the word *Quirites* for Roman citizens in their civil capacity is derived from *curia*. (4) Ten *curiae* form a *tribe* (*tribus*). There were originally three tribes, consisting of patricians only; the word *tribus* is derived from the word for *three* (*tres*), and therefore there is probably something in the idea of the threefold origin of the Roman State—Romans, Sabines, and possibly Etruscans. Each *gens* and each *curia*—but not the three tribes—had common religious rites and officers. This is the original patrician Rome, and its assembly was the *comitia curiata*.

Now the great point to realize is that, as each family was undoubtedly of common blood, so each *gens* and *curia* believed, at least, that it was of common blood; and consanguinity is therefore a necessary qualification for citizenship. How then,

the patrician asks, can an outsider—a plebeian—ever become a Roman citizen?

The **plebeians,** on the other hand, in claiming to be considered full citizens were really putting forward the modern idea that they are citizens because they *live in Rome* or on the Roman territories, and they were already gaining some recognition of their claim when, under the Servian constitution, the city was divided, for the purposes of the levy, into *four* tribes—for the word tribe can now and henceforward mean merely a *local* division. The tribes finally numbered thirty-five.

On the expulsion of the kings the position of the plebeians became worse rather than better, for the kings were expelled in a patrician quarrel; and the new republic was entirely controlled by the patricians. Moreover, the wars which followed told severely on the plebeians. We may take it that they consisted mainly of the smaller landholders, and these, on account of the damage done to their holdings by the enemy or simply by neglect while they were with the army, often fell into debt to their wealthier patrician neighbours. Now the Roman law of debt was very severe; in the final resort it delivered the debtor bound (*nexus*)—literally or metaphorically—into the hands of his creditor, who might sell him and his family into slavery. It was the question of the debtors that first stirred up the plebeians to united action rather than their desire for political privileges.

The Citizenship. The value of Roman citizenship—both at this time and later—was, in brief, the fact that it secured to the citizen *the protection of the Roman law.* It is commonly divided into the following parts. (1) The right to contract a Roman marriage (*ius conubii*), with the privileges of a *pater familias.* (2) The right of making contracts (*ius commercii*) which a Roman law-court would consider binding. (3) The right of voting (*ius suffragii*). The plebeians obtained this by the Servian constitution. (4) The right of holding office (*ius honorum*). The *ius imaginum* may be added, by which

a wax image of the face of any person who had held curule office was hung up in the hall of his house. It took the plebeians a century and a half to obtain the full citizenship. In the early part of the story of their struggle we are still in the region of legend.

The First Secession of the Plebs. In 494 B.C. the plebeians adopted something like the modern weapon of the strike. On their return from a successful campaign against the Volscians they marched away from the city and encamped on a hill between the Tiber and the Anio, which was afterward called the Sacred Mount (Mons Sacer). There they threatened to build a new city unless they obtained some relief from their grievances. The patricians were obliged to yield, but they did so in characteristic Roman fashion by a compromise. The plebeians were not yet admitted to the old magistracies; they were merely allowed to elect two, afterward ten, officers of their own, to be called tribunes of the people, in their own assembly (*concilium plebis*). The tribunes were to hold office for one year, like the consuls, and, like the consuls, each of them had full powers. These powers were chiefly two: (1) they could protect any plebeian against any magistrate (*ius auxilii*), and in token of this their houses stood open day and night; and (2) they could stop by their veto (*intercessio*) any measure proposed by the consuls, the Senate, or the assembly. Their persons were to be sacred (*sacrosancti*), and anyone who interfered with them was to be held accursed (*sacer*).

The tribunes could do nothing against the dictator, or the consul outside the city; that is to say, their powers were confined to the *civil* sphere. Their powers were also purely *negative*; they could only *stop* action, they could not *initiate*. The tribuneship was of great use to the plebeians in their struggle for further privileges, and the patricians made many attempts to take it away again. Later on it became a dangerous weapon of obstruction and anarchy.

The **first agrarian law** is mentioned soon after the first

secession of the plebeians. Its scope is doubtful, but, as the first of many similar proposals, it deserves some notice. It is said to have been introduced in 486 B.C. by the consul Spurius Cassius, the man who restored the Latin League, and it proposed to assign some of the public land to plebeians. Its proposer was put to death—either by the vote of the assembly or by his own father in virtue of the *patria potestas* —because he proposed to include Latins in these assignments. The charge brought against him was that he was aiming at the kingship.

Written Laws. Having secured some protection against harsh treatment by the magistrates, the plebeians next demanded that the laws should be written down and published. At Rome, as everywhere, law was originally the body of decisions or judgments pronounced by the kings or other magistrates. These were not written, but handed down among the governing class and their priests, and jealously guarded by them. Hence a plebeian could never be sure what decision a magistrate would give, or what was the law on any particular point. The writing down of the laws might not make them any milder, but it would at least let people know how they stood, and make judicial sentences less arbitrary.

The Decemvirs. The patricians, of course, fought stubbornly to retain their monopoly of the law, but at last in 451 B.C. the two orders agreed that ten commissioners (*decemviri*), chosen from both orders, should supersede all the regular magistrates for a year and draw up a code of law. Here we have compromise again; as the patricians gave up their consuls, so the plebeians gave up their tribunes, and perhaps the patricians hoped that this would be the end of the tribuneship.

In spite of the agreement ten patricians were elected, and in the course of the year they completed ten tables of the code, which were approved by the assembly. But their work was not completed, and therefore the arrangement had

to be continued for another year. Appius Claudius, the leading decemvir of the first year, got himself and some plebeians elected for the second year, and then, after completing the code with two more tables, proceeded to act in a most tyrannical fashion—chiefly against the plebeians. He refused to resign at the end of 450. He had Lucius Sicinius, a former tribune and an outspoken opponent of the tyranny, put to death by his hirelings, and he would have assigned the fair young Virginia as a slave to one of his own clients had not her father stabbed her with his own hands. So the plebs seceded a second time. The decemvirs were compelled to resign; the old order was restored; and Appius perished in prison by his own hand.

This is another of the legends that simply "won't do." Probably Appius Claudius was a wise patrician who tried to benefit the plebeians, and whose character was therefore blackened by the outraged members of his own order.

In any case, the Roman law was codified in the famous Twelve Tables, considerable portions of which are still extant, and out of which all subsequent Roman law was held to flow. Another blow had been struck at patrician privilege.

The Comitia Tributa. It was the consuls Valerius and Horatius who restored the old order. They are also said to have passed another law that *what the plebs ordered in their tribes should be binding on the whole people.* This can hardly mean that the *concilium plebis* was thus early to be allowed to pass laws for the whole body of citizens. It probably means the institution of the *comitia tributa.* This assembly in later times displaced the *comitia centuriata* to a large extent. It consisted of the whole people, arranged in tribes instead of centuries. Each tribe had one vote, and as in each tribe the poor plebeians would form the majority they would control the final vote, just as the rich patricians did in the *centuriata.* As the *tributa* was not the army it could meet in the Forum, and could be summoned by any of the lower magistrates. It was therefore more convenient than the

centuriata and gradually took over the functions of the latter, except the election of the higher magistrates and the hearing of appeals. Whether the *concilium plebis* continued to exist alongside of the *comitia tributa* is a disputed question.

Conubium. In 445 B.C. the tribune Canuleius carried a law which gave to the plebeians the right of Roman marriage, or of intermarriage with patricians.

Consular Tribunes. The same Canuleius in the same year carried another law which seemed to mark another step forward. The patricians still kept the consulship to themselves, but they agreed that the *comitia centuriata* should be asked every year whether it wished to elect consuls for the next year or a new kind of magistrates called 'military tribunes with consular powers,' and that plebeians should be eligible for the latter office. The consular tribunes would not have the various marks of honour that the consuls had, but otherwise there would be little difference between them. This concession did not amount to much, however. The assembly frequently voted for consuls, and, even when it voted for consular tribunes, no plebeian was elected until 400 B.C.

Censors. In 443 B.C. a new office was created, which afterward became the most coveted of all the magistracies. Hitherto the consuls had drawn up the lists of the tribes, the centuries, the knights, and the senators. These duties were now assigned to two *censors*. They were elected every five years, but were expected to finish their task and resign office in eighteen months. The censorship was confined to the patricians for about a century after its institution.

The Story of Capitolinus. That the questions of debt and of the public land were still causing trouble is shown by the later history of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, defender of the Capitol. Though a patrician, he is said to have paid the debts of many old comrades to save them from slavery or the debtors' prison, even selling his lands for the purpose. The old cry of aiming at the kingship was raised against him by the patricians, with whom the rich plebeians were now beginning

to take sides. He was condemned to death in 384 B.C. by the *comitia centuriata* and hurled from the very rock which he had gallantly defended six years before. The *gens Manlia* decided that none of its members should hereafter be called Marcus.

The Licinian Laws. The rich plebeians were quite content with the law of debt and the distribution of the public land, but they wanted the consulship. It was when rich and poor plebeians united to seek redress for their separate grievances in one measure that the citadel of patrician privilege was finally stormed. In 377 B.C. the tribunes Licinius and Sextius brought forward measures to remedy the grievances of both plebeian parties. They were elected for ten years in succession before these measures were carried. For five years the patricians bribed one tribune or another to veto the proposals, and twice they appointed Camillus dictator. Licinius and Sextius retaliated by stopping the machinery of government. At last in 367 B.C. the *comitia tributa* passed the bill with the following provisions :

(1) That consular tribunes should no longer be appointed instead of consuls, and that *one* consul in each year *must be a plebeian*.

(2) That no citizen should hold more than 500 *iugera* (300 acres) of arable public land, or feed more than 100 oxen and 500 sheep on the public pasture.

(3) That interest already paid on debt should be deducted from the principal.

(4) That a certain proportion of *free* labour must be employed along with the slaves on the land.

The second and fourth of these provisions no doubt gave some relief to the poorer classes, but they soon became dead letters, because no permanent commission was appointed to carry them out. These Licinian laws ended the long-drawn-out struggle between patricians and plebeians. To mark the end of this struggle the aged Camillus dedicated the temple of Concord at the foot of the Capitoline Hill.

Praetors and Curule Aediles. The patricians once again tried to lessen the value of their concessions by creating new magistracies. They took from the consuls their judicial functions and gave them to a *praetor* or supreme judge. He ranked next to the consuls, and had six lictors. At first there was only one praetor each year, and he was always a patrician until 337 B.C. Later the number was increased.

The tribunes of the plebs had always had two assistants, called the *plebeian aediles*. In 367 two *curule aediles* were instituted to attend to the roads, the markets, and the public games. These were meant to be patricians, but plebeians were elected as early as the second year of the new office.

We may take it that the two orders were now equal, though various small points remained to be cleared up. So late as 287 B.C. we hear of an obscure third secession of the plebs and a Hortensian law, which gave the validity of law to the resolutions of the plebs (*plebiscita*)—possibly this time meaning the *concilium plebis*.

Quaestors. The consuls from early times had two officers, called *quaestors*, to assist them in financial matters. In 421 B.C. the number of quaestors was raised to four, and plebeians were made eligible. They were elected, like the other lower magistrates, by the *comitia tributa*. A plebeian was elected for the first time in 409 B.C. The number of the quaestors was largely increased in later times to cope with the extension of financial and other business in the provinces.

CHAPTER IV

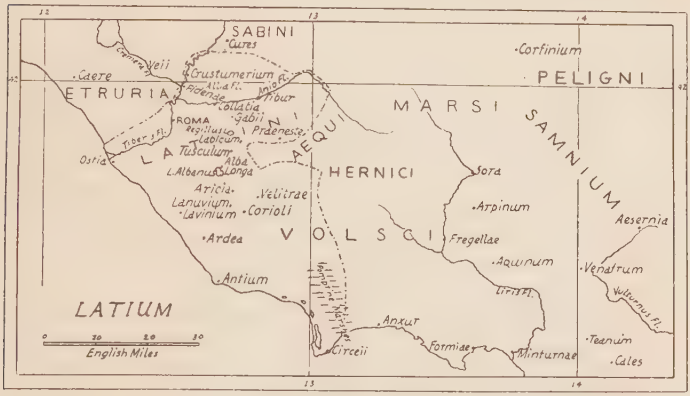
THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

The Samnites. The half-century that followed the destruction of Rome in 390 B.C. is filled with obscure wars, which we shall pass lightly over. The Latins were becoming somewhat dissatisfied with their treatment by the head of the league. The Gauls were still wandering about, and the Latins sometimes entered into an alliance with them. The Samnites of the central highlands were extending their power over the plains of Campania and Apulia, and when in 345 B.C. Rome seized the Volscian town of Sora on the Samnite frontier a collision became inevitable. The Samnites were one of the bravest nations whom the Romans ever faced; they were beaten chiefly because their warlike resources were not controlled by a single authority as the resources of the Latin League were by Rome.

First Samnite War, 343–341 B.C. In 343 the Samnites were besieging Capua, the richest city of Campania. The aristocratic party there appealed for assistance to Rome, and the Senate, in accordance with its regular policy, was quite ready to take sides in a local quarrel. After two campaigns the war was brought to an end by a treaty of alliance between Rome and the Samnites, and it looked as if Rome had abandoned her old friends for new ones. The Latins had been increasingly disaffected, and were now alarmed. In 341 B.C. they demanded the full Roman citizenship and that half the Senate and one of the consuls should be elected from them, and when these demands were rejected they united with the Volscians and the Campanians in a war against Rome.

The Latin War, 340–338 B.C. The alliance between Rome and Samnium saved the day. The Roman army marched through the hill-country to Samnium and drew the Latin

army after it into Campania. At the foot of Mount Vesuvius the Latins were defeated, and by 338 all the Latin towns had surrendered. The Latin League was at an end, except for religious purposes. Instead of one treaty between Rome and the League there was now a treaty between Rome and each separate town. This method of dealing with separate towns became a regular part of the Roman system, and we



shall explain it presently. Two typical Roman stories are told in connexion with the Latin War.

Titus Manlius. While the armies were lying over against each other at the foot of Vesuvius the consul Manlius gave orders that no one must be enticed into single combat. Now a knight of Tusculum challenged the consul's son as he rode by the ramparts of the Latin camp, and the young Manlius, forgetting his father's orders, accepted the challenge and slew his enemy. But when he brought the spoils to the Roman camp the consul ordered his lictors to seize his son and smite off his head. 'Manlian orders' (*Manliana imperia*) became a proverbial expression for severity.

Publius Decius Mus. In the battle which followed, the Roman left wing, which was commanded by the plebeian

consul P. Decius Mus, gave way before the Latins. Decius called for the chief priest (*pontifex maximus*) and at his dictation recited the formula whereby he devoted his own life along with the army of the enemy to the gods of the lower world. Then, with his toga wrapped round his head, he rode to his death among the ranks of the enemy. The Latins were terrified; the Romans charged again and carried everything before them The body of Decius was found next day and buried with military honours.

The **Second Samnite War, 327–304 B.C.**, began in much the same way as the first. The democratic party at Naples, hostile to the Romans, invited the help of the Samnites, and Rome declared war on both. Naples was forced to submit almost at once, but the Samnites for several years won considerable successes. Their greatest triumph was at Caudium, or the Caudine Forks, in 321, under the leadership of Gaius Pontius. The Roman army, with both consuls, was entrapped in a narrow valley from which it could not escape. The Samnite leader could have destroyed it, or accepted its surrender, or let it go free. He chose the last course, dictating a peace favourable to his countrymen, which the consuls accepted on oath. The Roman army was allowed to depart, but under the yoke (two spears fixed in the ground with a third laid on top) as a mark of disgrace. The Senate, however, repudiated the treaty on the ground that a general in the field was not competent to make peace, but, instead of sending back the whole army, they sent only the two consuls. Pontius sent them back to Rome unharmed.

The Etruscans joined the Samnites in 311 B.C. The consul Q. Fabius Rullianus led a Roman army for the first time across the Ciminian forest into the plains of Etruria, and defeated the Etruscans at Lake Vadimo in 310 B.C. The Marsi and the Hernicans also joined the enemy, but they also were defeated. In 304 B.C. peace was made on the basis of an equal alliance, which showed that the Samnites were by no means yet finished with. But in 312 B.C. the Romans

had secured their hold on Campania by building their first and most famous road, from Rome to Capua. This was the Appian Way (Via Appia), so named from the censor Appius Claudius Caecus, who had charge of the work. And about the same time they established a Latin colony so far away as Luceria in Apulia. Their grip on Central Italy was becoming firmer every day.

The Third Samnite War, 298–290 B.C. This time it was the Lucanians who incited the Samnites to take up arms, but the Lucanians were quickly reduced, and the Samnites were left once more to carry on by themselves. They were joined later by the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, but the coalition was defeated in 295 at Sentinum, where the consul P. Decius Mus gave his life as his father had done at Vesuvius. The Samnites held out for several years among their mountains, winning and losing by turns. In 291 their general Gaius Pontius—perhaps a son of the hero of Caudium—after winning a battle, was taken prisoner by the Romans and executed in prison. In the same year a colony was founded at Venusia, with the unprecedented number of 20,000 colonists. In 290 peace was concluded on the old terms. No colony, even, was established in Samnium proper, but the Appian Way was carried through the heart of the country—even through the Caudine Forks—from Capua to Venusia.

The general who triumphed over the Samnites on this occasion was our old acquaintance, the plebeian Manius Curius Dentatus. Of him it is related that the Samnites tried to bribe him with gold. Their messengers found him on his little farm, cooking his dinner of vegetables; and he dismissed them with the remark that he would rather be master of those who possessed gold than of the gold itself.

The Senonian Gauls, who had captured Rome a century before, were practically extirpated in 283, and a Roman colony was established in their country at Sena Gallica. The Via Flaminia—the great north road—was also begun about this time. The Boian Gauls, alarmed by the fate of their

kinsmen, united with the Etruscans. This last coalition of Central Italy was defeated at Lake Vadimo (283) and Populonia (282), and the only power in Italy that could hope to stand up against Rome was the Greek city of Tarentum.

Tarentum was a colony of Sparta, founded about 700 B.C., and had long been the chief commercial city of Magna Graecia. Like most commercial cities it entrusted its defence to mercenaries; and like most Greek cities it was divided into two parties—aristocrats and democrats. Rome everywhere favoured the aristocratic party, but at Tarentum the democrats were the more powerful. Their 'levity,' however, had kept them from joining with the Samnites, when their additional weight might have turned the scale against Rome. When they did decide to fight it was too late.

In 282 B.C. some Roman warships, on their way to the new colonies on the Adriatic, put in at Tarentum. This, apparently, was a contravention of some ancient treaty, and the infuriated mob sank some of the ships, butchering their crews or selling them into slavery. The Senate was not eager for a war with Tarentum so soon after the struggle with Central Italy, and sent Lucius Postumius with very reasonable proposals. But his indifferent Greek moved the Tarentines to laughter, and one of their buffoons splashed his toga with filth. With Roman *gravitas* the ambassador held up his toga to the assembly and said, "Men of Tarentum, it will take not a little blood to wash this gown clean." The Senate now declared war, and the Tarentines sent for help to Pyrrhus, King of Epirus.

Pyrrhus was a relative of Alexander the Great, and probably dreamed of founding in the West a kingdom such as his kinsman had founded in the East; but either he had not Alexander's ability or he found himself confronted by a somewhat different opponent. In his first campaign (280 B.C.) he defeated the Romans at Heraclea, chiefly by the help of his battalion of elephants—an animal which the Romans had never met before. The Greek cities now joined him, and

THE APPIAN WAY

Photo Alinari

so did some of the Samnites, but Pyrrhus was willing to end the war by negotiation. He sent his ambassador Cineas to Rome to propose that the Romans should recognize the freedom of the Greek cities, and the eloquence of Cineas almost won the day. But Appius Claudius, builder of the Appian Way, now an old blind man, was led into the Senate, and in a vehement speech, which persuaded the Fathers, for the first time laid down the maxim that Rome could not treat with a foreign enemy on Italian soil. Pyrrhus then advanced into Latium, but none of the Latins joined him, whereupon he fell back on his base at Tarentum. In the following year he again defeated the Romans, at Asculum in Apulia; his own losses, however, were severe, and he gained no new allies. The next winter he was asked by the Greek city of Syracuse in Sicily to come over and help it against the Carthaginians. He accepted the offer, drove the Carthaginians into the west of Sicily, and then found the Greek towns of Sicily revolting against his 'tyranny.' So he returned to Italy in 276. But in his absence the Romans had regained all the ground they had lost. In 275 he marched into Samnium and gave battle to Manius Curius Dentatus at Malventum, afterward called Beneventum. The Romans, by the use of firebrands, turned his panicstricken elephants against himself; his troops broke and fled, his camp was taken, and he himself returned to Epirus. Tarentum held out until 272 B.C. with the help of a garrison which Pyrrhus had left behind under his lieutenant, Milo. With the fall of Tarentum the whole of Italy, in the ancient sense, was under the dominion of Rome.

Roman Foreign Policy. We have seen how, on the military side, Rome secured her conquests by means of roads and colonies, and how, politically, she dealt with each conquest separately. It will now be well to look at the various terms which she offered.

(1) The highest gift that she had to bestow was the full Roman citizenship. This was given very seldom.

(2) A commoner arrangement was the bestowal of partial

citizenship (*civitas sine suffragio*), which gave to the recipients the *ius commercii* and the *ius conubii*, but not the right to vote or to hold office at Rome. This form of citizenship was given first to Caere in Etruria in 351 B.C., and afterward to most of the Latin towns. A town of this class (*municipium*) managed its own local affairs somewhat after the Roman fashion, paid taxes to Rome, and contributed its quota to the *socii*, or allies, who fought alongside of the legions. The Latins had the further privilege of becoming full Roman citizens if they migrated to Rome.

(3) Sometimes a town, instead of managing its own affairs, was administered by a prefect sent from Rome. It was then called a *praefectura*.

(4) Towns which did not receive the Roman citizenship at all fell into several classes. (*a*) Those which had made a special treaty with Rome of their own accord were called *foederatae*, and their position would, of course, depend on their special treaty, which only the Senate could alter. (*b*) Some towns, without a special treaty, were left free and untaxed (*liberae et immunes*). They were as well off as the *foederatae*, except for the special guarantee of the treaty. (*c*) Some towns paid a tax, most commonly a tenth of their crops. These were *stipendiariae* in general, or *decumanae* in particular.

It must be specially remembered that *no town*, however privileged, could enter into any negotiation or agreement with another town.

CHAPTER V

THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE

We have given our intelligent foreigner the information that he desired ; it remains for us now to tell what happened next.

Carthage, founded perhaps a century before Rome, was a colony of the Phoenicians, whose chief cities, Tyre and Sidon, are familiar to us in the Bible. The Phoenicians were akin to the Jews, but, unlike the Jews, they never developed much national feeling, and were ready to submit to Persia or any other Eastern empire, provided they were allowed to heap up wealth by trafficking. At one time their ships sailed over the whole Mediterranean, and even out into the Atlantic ; as early as 1000 B.C. they had founded a factory at Gades (Cadiz) in Spain. But their whole object, wherever they went, was merely to exploit the natives, and they made no contribution to civilization, except the alphabet—which they merely handed on from Egypt.

The power of the mother-cities declined before the advance of the Greeks, but the daughter-city—Kirjath Hadeschath, " the New Town," its own people called it—had become the head of a great empire by the year 500 B.C. Its position was even more favourable than that of Rome for dominating the Western Mediterranean, and its hinterland was much more fertile than Latium ; so that, while Rome was struggling to maintain her position in the Latin League, Carthage controlled the north coast of Africa, the western half of Sicily, the whole of Corsica and Sardinia, and the southern parts of Spain. Some time about 500 B.C. one of her admirals, Hanno by name, had sailed down the west coast of Africa as far as Sierra Leone. Yet Carthage, like Tyre and Sidon, had really nothing to contribute to the advancement of the human race ; she had

not even the Roman talent of securing the loyalty of the kindred cities in her immediate neighbourhood. To her they were merely sources of revenue and of mercenary troops.

The **government of Carthage** was a narrow oligarchy, something like that of Venice in the Middle Ages. A council of thirty members, holding office for life, was originally the only governing body, two of its members, called *suffetes*, acting as the executive. At a later date a larger council, consisting of a hundred members, came into existence and gained control over the smaller council. The general body of the citizens had little political power, except when led by such a man as Hamilcar. It must always be remembered, however, that we know nothing about Carthage except from her enemies, the Greeks and the Romans.

Rome and Carthage. There is said to have been a treaty between Rome and Carthage made in the first year of the Republic, and renewed at a later date, which debarred the Romans from trading in Africa and Sardinia and the Carthaginians from making any settlement in Italy. The defeat of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, however, had brought the Romans within sight of Sicily, and, if there was to be any further extension of Roman trade or dominion, Sicily was obviously the next step. The Senate seems once again to have been rather unwilling to take the further step, but the *comitia centuriata* eagerly voted for war when the question was put to it in 265 B.C.

The **First Punic**[1] **War,** as wars often do, arose out of a trifling side-issue, which is worth mentioning only as an illustration of Roman foreign policy.

The western part of Sicily, as we have said, was controlled by the Carthaginians. The eastern part at this time was ruled by Syracuse—a colony of Corinth—under its king, or 'tyrant,' Hiero. The town of Messana (Messina), however, was held by a body of men calling themselves Mamertines, or Sons of Mars. These men were originally Campanian

[1] The word 'Punic' means 'Carthaginian.'

mercenaries in the service of Agathocles, Hiero's predecessor, but in 284 B.C. they had seized Messana, killed the whole male population, and taken possession of their wives and goods. It is interesting to note that another body of Campanians, in the Roman service, did the same thing at Rhegium, opposite Messana, in 280 B.C. ; and that the Romans stormed Rhegium in 270 and put the whole garrison to the sword. By 265 B.C. the Mamertines were beginning to be hard pressed by Hiero. One party of them asked for help from the Carthaginians, the other appealed to Rome. The Carthaginians arrived first and occupied the citadel, so that when the Roman assembly decided to send assistance to the other party it was in reality declaring war on Carthage. Messana was captured by the Romans in 264 B.C., and the First Punic War began.

During the first years of the war the Romans were uniformly successful. They secured Messana, made an alliance with Hiero, and starved Agrigentum into surrender. But a naval power like Carthage could only be beaten on the sea. The Romans had little experience of that element, yet in 260 B.C., under the command of Gaius Duillius, they defeated the Carthaginian fleet at Mylae. The story of the first Roman navy is picturesque enough, but hardly to be accepted seriously. It is said that they took as their model a Carthaginian galley that had been wrecked on the Italian coast, and that the rowers were trained on wooden platforms on land. One naturally asks why the Romans did not apply to Tarentum both for ships and for rowers, but their victory at Mylae was a great achievement in any case. It was chiefly due to a contrivance which was certainly Roman. To the foremast of their ships they fixed by a hinge a sort of gangway with a spike at its upper end. As soon as they got within reach of an enemy's ship this gangway was suddenly dropped, and, as the spike fixed itself in the opponent's deck, the Roman legionaries boarded the enemy and made a land-battle of it. One can imagine the disgust and dismay of the Carthaginians at this unheard-of mode of conducting a seafight, the proper

course being either to sink your opponent by ramming or to disable him by sweeping away his oars.

In 258 B.C. the Romans occupied Corsica, and in 256 they decided to carry the war into Africa. Their fleet in the latter year defeated the Carthaginians off Ecnomus in Sicily, and afterward the consul Regulus landed at Clupea. At first he plundered the rich Carthaginian country at his pleasure, but in 255 he was defeated and captured by Xanthippus, a Spartan mercenary who had reorganized the Carthaginian army. Regulus probably died in captivity by a natural death, but the last of the great Roman legends gathered round his name. It was embodied by Horace in one of his odes and has therefore become one of the most famous of Roman stories. The legend says that in 250 B.C. the Carthaginians suffered a severe defeat on land at Panormus, and sent Regulus as their ambassador to Rome to ask for peace. At first Regulus, regarding himself as no longer a Roman citizen, refused to open his mouth, but, when the Senate ordered him to speak, he strongly urged them to listen to no proposals for peace. Having won them over he hastened back to Carthage in accordance with his promise, though he knew the tortures that waited for him. We are further told that his wife in revenge horribly mutilated two Carthaginian prisoners who had been entrusted to her keeping, and modern historians are inclined to believe that this is the true part of the story, and that the rest was invented to palliate the atrocity on the Roman side.

After rejecting the Carthaginian offer of peace the Romans suffered two naval disasters. In 249 their fleet under Publius Claudius, son of the old blind censor, was defeated at Drepanum, chiefly owing to the impiety of Claudius, as the Romans thought. Before joining battle a Roman general 'took the auspices'—that is, he tried to find out whether the moment was a favourable one for action. Now on board ship the auspices were taken by throwing food to the sacred chickens; if they ate it was a good sign—the more greedily they ate the

better ; if they refused to eat it was a bad sign, and no pious commander would think of fighting in such circumstances. On this occasion the keeper of the chickens reported that the birds refused to eat, and Claudius ordered them to be thrown overboard, so that they might *drink* at any rate. In the battle which followed he was totally defeated, with a loss of 20,000 men and most of his ships. In the same year a fleet of 800 transports was driven ashore between Ecnomus and Camarina and totally destroyed.

The last phase of the war was confined to the western end of Sicily. The Romans blockaded the great fortresses of Lilybaeum and Drepanum, while the Carthaginian Hamilcar Barca from Mounts Hercte and Eryx harassed their lines and the Italian coasts. In 242 Gaius Lutatius Catulus defeated at the Aegates Islands a Carthaginian fleet which was sailing to the relief of Lilybaeum, and Hamilcar saw that Carthage could do no more for the present. He agreed to evacuate Sicily, to restore all prisoners of war, and to pay an indemnity of 2000 talents (about £500,000) ; he himself was to march out of Eryx with all the honours of war. These terms were accepted by the Senate, except that they increased the indemnity by one-half. The first round in the great struggle was at an end.

The First Roman Province. Sicily was the first district outside Italy which the Romans had to organize. The Senate sent out a commission of ten (*decemviri*) to make the necessary arrangements. They decided that it should be governed by a praetor sent annually from Rome and that, on the whole, things should remain pretty much as they were before the war, except that Rome took the place of Carthage. Syracuse remained independent for the time being ; most of the towns became *stipendiariae* ; a few became *foederatae*, their one obligation being to supply sailors for the fleet. None of them received the citizenship. The same system was followed in provinces acquired later. Consuls and praetors, after their year of office at Rome, were sent to govern a

province. They were then called pro-consuls and propraetors. The provinces were assigned by the Senate.

Mutiny at Carthage. The Carthaginian Government frequently had difficulty with its mercenaries. It is not easy to believe that it ever lacked the money to pay them; more probably the peace party, which was led by Hanno (two or three Carthaginian names constantly recur), controlled the council and tried to starve the army. So when Hamilcar's troops returned from Sicily they claimed arrears of pay, and, when their claim was rejected, broke out in mutiny. They were joined by the natives and the half-breeds of the neighbouring towns, and even the capital was in danger. Hamilcar had to be called in again, and after four years of desperate and barbarous fighting he brought this "Truceless War" to an end.

The Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia mutinied at the same time. Finding the natives rather too strong for them, they offered to surrender the island to Rome. The Senate accepted the offer, and, when Carthage protested, demanded a further indemnity of 1200 talents (about £300,000). Sardinia was not fully reduced until 225 B.C., in which year it was formed into a province along with Corsica. It was one of the chief wheat-growing countries of ancient times.

Hamilcar in Spain. After the Truceless War Hamilcar balanced the loss of Sicily and Sardinia by the conquest of Spain. He treated the natives much better than was the usual practice of the Carthaginians, and before his death in 228 B.C. he had secured the country up to the Sierra Morena. The work was continued by his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who founded New Carthage (Cartagena) to be the capital of the conquered country. Hasdrubal had reached the Tagus before he was assassinated in 221 B.C. In his place the army chose Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, who as a boy of nine had sworn on the altar, at his father's dictation, that he would never be a friend of the Roman people. He was now about twenty-six, and, with his long training in Spain, was possessed of all the good qualities of soldier and leader. He was the most

formidable opponent whom the Romans ever met, and perhaps the greatest captain of all time. To the Romans, with their habitual lack of generosity toward an enemy, he appeared a monster of cruelty and perfidy.

Conquest of the Italian Gauls. While the Carthaginians were conquering Spain the Romans were laying their hands on what is now Northern Italy. A Latin colony which had been established at Ariminum (Rimini) in 268 B.C. was a thorn in the flesh of the Gauls. They attacked it unsuccessfully in 238 B.C., and more Roman settlers were sent out in 232, under an agrarian law proposed by the tribune Gaius Flaminius. The road from Rome to Ariminum was completed by him and called the Via Flaminia. In 225 a Gallic confederation was defeated at Telamon in Etruria, and in the next three years the Romans pushed northward and defeated the different Gallic tribes in detail. The Boii submitted in 224. The Insubres were defeated by Flaminius in 223, and again in 222 by Marcellus, who gained the *spolia opima* and captured Mediolanum (Milan). Colonies were established at Placentia and Cremona to hold the valley of the Padus (Po) in 218 B.C.

The Illyrian Pirates. During these same years the Romans first came into contact with the Greeks of the mainland. The Adriatic or "Upper Sea" was infested with Illyrian pirates, who preyed upon Greeks and Italians alike. In 230 B.C. some of the Greeks appealed to Rome. Two ambassadors were sent out by the Senate, one of whom was killed by the orders, it was said, of the Illyrian queen. Next year a Roman army overran Illyria and forced the country to pay tribute. Roman ambassadors were sent to the chief Greek cities to inform them of the conditions laid upon the Illyrians, and were received with great enthusiasm. At Corinth they were admitted to the Isthmian Games, as if they had been Greeks; at Athens they received the citizenship and were initiated at the Eleusinian mysteries. A second expedition was necessary in 219 B.C.

The **Second Punic War**, one of the most important in the history of the world, was deliberately provoked by Hannibal and accepted by the Carthaginian Government in spite of the protests of Hanno and the peace party. During Hasdrubal's time in Spain the Romans had made a treaty of alliance with the town of Saguntum, which was considerably south of the Ebro and therefore in the Carthaginian sphere of influence. This town Hannibal attacked in 220 B.C. and after a siege of eight months captured it (219), when the leading citizens had thrown themselves and all their goods into a huge fire in the market-place. The Romans had sent no help to Saguntum, being engaged with the Illyrian pirates; but after the fall of the city they sent Quintus Fabius Maximus (whom we shall meet again) to Carthage to demand the surrender of Hannibal. This being refused, Fabius wrapped up his hands in the folds of his toga and said, "I bring you here peace or war; which will you have?" "Give us which you will," the Carthaginians cried; whereupon Fabius shook out his toga and said, "I give you war," and the majority of the council accepted it with loud cheers.

The Two Sides. It has been said, with considerable truth, that the Second Punic War was a war between a man and a nation. Hannibal was the chief asset on the Carthaginian side, with his genius and his permanent command. The Romans, on the contrary, had a continually changing command, which was also divided between the two consuls, and most of the consuls were very ordinary men. But on the Roman side there was the strong feeling of nationality and an extraordinary loyalty on the part of the Latins and the central parts of Italy, while Carthage hardly supported her general as she might have done. Hannibal had an excellent professional army, and his cavalry, both heavy and light, was the best in the world; his artillery, however, was weak, his base was distant, and his sea-power was almost non-existent. The home Government would expect him to make the war pay for itself. The Roman army was inferior to his

in all respects except patriotism, but it could draw its reinforcements from its immediate neighbourhood ; and as Rome now controlled the Western Mediterranean she could strike behind him and cut off his communications except by the long land-route from Spain.

Plans of Campaign. Both sides had known for years that war was coming, and both sides had their plans ready, but the Romans made the mistake of imagining that *they* would determine the character of the campaign. Their obvious course was to strike simultaneously at Carthage and Spain, and this they proceeded to do in leisurely fashion. The patrician consul P. Cornelius Scipio was dispatched to Spain, and the plebeian Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus to Sicily. But Hannibal did not wait to be attacked in Spain. He had conceived the brilliant idea of attacking Italy. Undoubtedly he must have known something of the difficulties that lay before him, but his knowledge of the route would seem sadly deficient to a modern staff. A look at the map and the use of a little imagination will help us to understand the brilliance of his achievement. He left New Carthage in May 218 B.C., passed the Ebro, the Pyrenees, the Rhone, and the Alps—fighting almost every step of the way—and descended upon the valley of the Po about the beginning of November. His army when he started amounted to about 100,000 men ; when he reached Italy it numbered about 25,000.

Scipio had been delayed in Cisalpine Gaul by some troubles excited by Hannibal's agents, and when he reached Massilia (Marseilles) he was astounded to hear that Hannibal was approaching the Rhone farther upstream, and when his advance-guard pushed up the river they found that Hannibal was already across. Either from stupid obedience to orders or with a touch of military genius Scipio sent on most of his army to Spain under his brother Gnaeus, returning himself to meet Hannibal as he descended from the Alps. The two armies came suddenly in touch with each other on the river Ticinus, and in a smart vanguard skirmish the Romans were

put to flight. The consul was wounded, and his life was saved by his son—that Scipio who was to finish the war sixteen years later. He retired to the colony of Placentia, and was there joined by Sempronius, who had been recalled from Sicily. It was Sempronius—the plebeian consul—who was responsible for the first serious Roman defeat. He allowed his men to be enticed through the icy waters of the Trebia early in the morning on a day of sleet and snow—it would now be well on in December—into the trap that the warm and well-breakfasted Carthaginians had prepared for them. The Roman cavalry and light infantry were scattered at once by the Numidian cavalry, the elephants, and the Balearic slingers; the victorious Numidians took the legions in flank and rear; an ambuscade of 2000 picked men under Hannibal's brother Mago broke out upon them at the critical moment—and what was left of the Roman army reached Placentia under cover of storm and darkness. Hannibal had, so far, justified his audacious plan: he had secured a base in Northern Italy; the Gauls would supply him with food and recruits. On the other side of the account he seems to have lost most of his elephants in the ensuing winter, and he never captured Placentia or Cremona.

The Campaign of 217 B.C. The Roman plan for this year was to hold Hannibal in the north of Italy; Hannibal's plan was to get southward, for his only hope lay in rousing Central and Southern Italy against Rome. Accordingly, the consul Servilius was posted at Ariminum and the other consul, Flaminius, at Arretium. The latter—the friend of the people—had been elected only after a bitter struggle, in which the senatorial party had used all the religious machinery of bad omens against him. He actually left the city without taking the auspices, and consequently the failure of this campaign was attributed to him. Hannibal, as usual, took an unexpected course. He crossed the Apennines very early in the spring, and toiled with heavy losses through the marshes of the Arno, losing the sight of one eye from marsh-fever. But

he had turned the flank of Flaminius and was in full march toward Rome, boldly leaving a hostile army of 60,000 men in his rear. Flaminius started off in pursuit without waiting for his colleague, and at Lake Trasimene walked into another well-prepared trap. The Roman army was cut to pieces amid mist and darkness and earthquake ; the consul himself was slain by the Gauls whom he had conquered a few years before.

The senior magistrate at Rome—the praetor Pomponius—announced to the people that they had been defeated in a great battle, and the city was put into a state of defence. But Hannibal had no intention of wasting his time in a hopeless siege. He marched eastward to the Adriatic, then southward to Apulia, waiting for the Samnites and others to join him ; but they made no movement yet. In the meantime Q. Fabius Maximus had been appointed dictator (irregularly, by the assembly, in the absence of the consul), and by his " masterly inactivity " gained for himself the name of Cunctator (" Delayer ") and a great reputation with future generations as the one man who saved his country. His policy was to hang about in the mountains on Hannibal's flank, and hamper his movements without coming to an engagement. Hannibal was still victorious, but he had gained no support yet from the Italians.

Campaign of 216 B.C. Battle of Cannae. The tactics of Fabius were by no means popular at Rome in his own day, and both the consuls for 216—the patrician L. Aemilius Paullus and the plebeian C. Terentius Varro—were eager to strike a decisive blow. Hannibal in May seized the Roman stores at Cannae in Apulia and drew the combined Roman armies after him. Once again he lured the Romans on to their destruction—Varro, of course, being to blame according to the historians. Hannibal drew up his heavy infantry in two parallel columns, with a thin screen of Gauls between them and with his cavalry on the wings. The Roman legions pressed through the Gallic screen ; the heavy Carthaginian

infantry turned inward upon them ; the cavalry took them in the rear ; and the battle became a massacre. The entire Roman army of 80,000 men was practically annihilated. The consul Paullus and eighty senators perished. Varro with a handful of cavalry escaped to Venusia, and there collected some 2000 survivors. He was thanked soon after by the Senate because " he had not despaired of the Republic." A general and a country which did not despair after a blow like this were never likely to despair at all.

Hannibal was now at the height of his success, but if we realize how small that success really was we shall see that he had failed even in the year of Cannae. South Italy now joined him, but the Southern Italians were of little use as fighting men. Some of the Samnites came over, and—most valuable of all—Capua, the second city of Italy, murdered its Roman inhabitants and opened its gates to the conqueror. But the Latins never wavered in their allegiance, although exhausted by the struggle ; and the colonies up and down the land hampered Hannibal's movements on every side. Some reinforcements came to him from Carthage, but they were quite inadequate ; he never secured a seaport in Italy, so that reinforcements from Spain could come only by land, and their passage was blocked by the Roman troops under the Scipios. He made an alliance with Philip of Macedonia, but Philip was kept busy at home by Roman intrigue. Syracuse joined him on the death of the old king Hiero, but it was closely invested by the consul Marcellus in 214 B.C. and fell two years later. The Romans, moreover, returned in Italy to the tactics of Fabius, and there is little of brilliance to interest us in the later course of the war. We shall briefly mention a few of the more important events.

Capua was retaken by the Romans in 211 B.C. In an attempt to raise the siege Hannibal made a demonstration right up to the gates of Rome ; but the besieging armies refused to move, and if Hannibal could not protect his friends there was little hope of his securing new ones. Capua was

treated with exemplary severity; most of its inhabitants were sold into slavery, its lands were confiscated, and the proud city was reduced to the rank of a prefecture.

In a similar way Hannibal captured Tarentum—but not the citadel which commanded its harbour—in 212 B.C. and lost it to Fabius Maximus in 209. As in the case of Capua, the bulk of the population was sold into slavery.

In Spain the two Scipios won considerable successes and held Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, in check, until they both perished in 212. The young Publius Scipio was sent out to take the command in 211, although he was much under the usual age for an independent command. He is interesting as the first example of the new type of Roman, who begins to be rather the master than the servant of his country. In 210 he captured New Carthage, with all its war material, but at the same time he allowed Hasdrubal to get past him and set out for Italy in the following year. Hasdrubal reached Italy in 207, and sent word to Hannibal to meet him in Umbria; but Hannibal was continually moving about, and the messengers blundered into the hands of the consul C. Claudius Nero. By a bold stroke Nero, with a body of picked men, left his army in front of Hannibal, hurried north to join his colleague Livius, and with him defeated Hasdrubal at the river Metaurus. It is said that Hannibal received the first news of his brother's arrival when Hasdrubal's head was thrown with Claudian cruelty into his camp. The game was now up, though Hannibal held on tenaciously to Bruttium, the toe of Italy, for a few years longer.

In 206 B.C. the young Scipio felt that Spain was in the hands of the Romans. He returned to Rome, was elected consul for 205, and began to press for an invasion of Africa. His plan was opposed by the Senate, who disliked the new type that Scipio represented; and if Scipio had appealed to the assembly, as he seemed likely at times to do, we should have had a Caesar a century and a half before his time. The matter, however, was settled by compromise, and the Senate gave him

permission to carry out his plan if it cost nothing to the State. By the charm of his name and personality Scipio raised a considerable army and fleet, and landed in Africa in 204 B.C. He won, however, no immediate success. The Numidian king Massinissa joined him, but Massinissa had just been driven from his kingdom by another prince called Syphax, who took the Carthaginian side. But when Syphax was defeated and captured by Massinissa in 203, and the whole strength of the Numidians was added to the Roman side, things began to look serious for the Carthaginians. Hannibal was recalled from Italy, and in 202, at the battle of Zama—the exact site of which is unknown—his demoralized forces were decisively beaten. Like his father forty years before, Hannibal saw that the war was finished for the time being, and that the only course was to accept Scipio's terms.

The Settlement. These terms were sufficiently hard and degrading, though not absolutely crushing. Carthage surrendered most of her fleet, evacuated Spain, and agreed to pay an indemnity of 200 talents (about £50,000) a year for fifty years. She was to wage no war anywhere without the permission of Rome, and she had to accept a permanent source of Roman interference by acknowledging Massinissa as King of Numidia under Roman protection.

The Hannibalic War, then, left Rome undisputed mistress of the Western Mediterranean, both on land and sea, and there was no power in the Eastern Mediterranean that could face her in the field if she chose to put forth her strength. Externally she had come out of the war conquering and to conquer; her first province of Sicily absorbed the kingdom of Syracuse; two new provinces were formed in Spain; a protectorate was established in Africa; vast tracts of the soil of Italy became public land, and thousands of its inhabitants were enslaved. Internally the results were more complicated and not all to the good. Hannibal had been in Italy for fifteen years; about one-fourth of the whole body of citizens had perished; the land had been devastated far

and near ; farmers and farming almost ceased to exist. Vast estates (*latifundia*), consisting often of public land, thrown into sheep-walks and pastures, where a few ferocious slaves could do all the necessary work, became the fashion ; and the dispossessed peasantry crowded into the capital. The Roman character was hardened by the long struggle, and the distinction between Roman and non-Roman was constantly drawn more sharply. The citizens without the vote were mostly made into full citizens, the federate towns on the whole retained their privileges ; but the right of the Latins to acquire the full citizenship was restricted, and the rest of the Italians, with the new provincials, came to be regarded as hewers of wood and drawers of water for their Roman masters. The old religion, consisting for the most part of a system of bargaining with the gods, broke down under the stress of the war, and new superstitions, scepticisms, and philosophies from Greece and the East began to take its place. Vast quantities of Greek art treasures had been carried off from Magna Graecia and Sicily ; everything Greek became fashionable ; Latin literature, which had made a feeble start in its own way, started afresh as an imitation of Greek forms. The native genius—if there was any—was strangled almost at its birth, and Latin literature entered upon its long task of presenting Greek thought in a Roman dress. This, as we can see now, was Rome's chief function in history—to assimilate and Romanize and spread Greek culture—but when the Hellenism, as in many cases, was merely a thin veneer over a very coarse Roman grain its effect was often rather disastrous.

Of the changes produced by the war on the powers of the Senate and of the rise of the new nobility we shall speak more at length later on.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST AND OF SPAIN

The Senate's Foreign Policy. The Roman Republic was not an aggressive military power with a definite plan for the conquest of the world, like Assyria or Macedonia. The Roman Empire was not established in the lifetime of one great general; it rather resembled our own Empire in India in being formed by a slow process of gradually securing its position by adding one more portion at a time. The policy of the Senate was merely to make Italy secure from attack and to do no more at the moment than was necessary for that purpose. Having rendered Carthage impotent, it proceeded to deal with Macedonia, which, if it had actively supported Hannibal, might have destroyed Rome.

The Condition of the East in 200 B.C. This must be described before we can understand the manner of Rome's interference and final conquest. Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia, in the brief space of a dozen years had conquered the whole expanse of Europe, Asia, and Africa from the Adriatic Sea to the river Indus. At his death in 323 B.C. this vast empire fell to pieces for lack of any successor able to hold it together, though by Alexander's conquests Greek remained for centuries the common language of intercourse in the East. By 300 B.C. three powerful kingdoms had emerged—Egypt under the Ptolemies; Syria under Seleucus and his descendants (the Seleucidae); and Macedonia under Demetrius Poliorcetes, among whose descendants Philip was a common name. Asia Minor was nominally under the Seleucids, but a number of small states there—Bithynia, Pontus, Pergamus, Rhodes—were practically independent. The three cities of Alexandria, Pergamus, and Rhodes were

the chief centres of Greek culture and civilization. The country that we now call Greece was subject to Macedonia, being held by Macedonian garrisons in Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth—" the fetters of Greece " ; but most of its cities adhered to one or the other of two leagues—the Achaean League, which comprised most of the Peloponnesus, and the Aetolian League, whose strength lay chiefly in Central Greece. The jealousy between these two leagues gave Rome continual opportunities of interfering in the affairs of Greece.

Philip V of Macedonia had made an alliance with Hannibal after Cannae, but the Romans, by playing the Aetolian League against him, had kept him busy at home (in the First Macedonian War) with little expense to themselves, and had concluded peace with him in 205 B.C. In that year, however, Ptolemy Philopator, King of Egypt, died, leaving his kingdom to Ptolemy Epiphanes, a boy of five. Philip and Antiochus of Syria accordingly entered into an agreement to divide Egypt and its dependencies between them, and the boy-King's ministers asked for the protection of Rome. The Senate did not wish to interfere at the moment, yet the corn-trade of Egypt was becoming too important for the feeding of Rome to be allowed to fall into the hands of an enemy. The Senate did very little till 200 B.C., when another appeal against Philip—from Athens this time—forced it to declare war, much against the will of the assembly. In the first two campaigns Philip had rather the better of the fighting, but in 198 B.C. the consul Titus Quinctius Flamininus drove him back, and in 197 B.C. defeated him decisively at Cynoscephalae (" the Dog's Heads "). Philip was compelled to pay an indemnity and to reduce his forces to very small dimensions ; and the cities of Greece were declared ' free.' This was the Second Macedonian War.

The Syrian War. In the meantime Antiochus of Syria was strengthening his position in Asia Minor, although he did little to help Philip. He was being instigated by Hannibal, who had been driven from Carthage by his enemies in 195 B.C.

and who still remembered his oath of undying enmity to Rome. Antiochus crossed to Greece in 192 B.C. and seized Demetrias and Chalcis. He was joined by the Aetolians, but in 191 B.C. he was defeated at Thermopylae by the consul Glabrio, and fled from Greece. In the following year he was totally defeated at Magnesia in Asia Minor by Lucius Scipio and his brother Publius Africanus. He was treated in much the same way as Philip had been, and his possessions in Asia Minor were given chiefly to Pergamus, under Roman protection.

Death of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus. After the defeat of Antiochus Hannibal fled to the Court of Prusias, King of Bithynia, and there made his last attempt to stir up trouble for Rome. When the Romans demanded his surrender and Prusias seemed likely to comply he took his own life by swallowing some poison which he carried in a finger-ring. Few men have done more harm to mankind and less good than Hannibal.

In the same year died his conqueror, Scipio Africanus. The Romans were not yet ready to accept a great man over them. After the Syrian campaign Lucius Scipio, brother of Publius, was accused of embezzlement, and his account-books were entered as evidence against him. Publius tore the account-books to pieces before the people and, reminding them that that day was the anniversary of Zama, invited them to accompany him to the Capitol and there give thanks to Jupiter. He was followed by a cheering crowd, but Lucius was found guilty all the same, and fined. Publius retired in disgust to Campania, declaring that his ungrateful country should not even have the honour of burying his ashes.

The Third Macedonian War. Philip had restored the power of Macedonia as well as the treaty with Rome would permit, having it always in mind to strike another blow. He died in 179 B.C. without having accomplished his purpose, but his son and successor Perseus was equally eager to regain for his country its old position. The Roman assembly voted for war in 171 B.C., and for three years it dragged on, marked by incompetence and cruelty on both sides. In 168, however,

Lucius Aemilius Paullus—son of him who fell at Cannae—a competent general, was asked by the Senate to take command. He ended the war in fifteen days, by defeating Perseus at Pydna, where the Roman legions finally destroyed the Macedonian phalanx, and the last serious effort of the East to resist Rome's domination failed. Macedonia was now divided into four cantons, which were forbidden to have any intercourse with one another, and which paid an annual tribute to Rome. Illyria was similarly divided into three cantons. In Epirus, to satisfy the old grudge against Pyrrhus, 150,000 people were sold into slavery.

Macedonia becomes a Province. In 149 B.C. a certain Andriscus, in reality a fuller's son, but claiming to be a son of Perseus, effected a rising in Macedonia. He was defeated in the following year by Q. Caecilius Metellus. Macedonia was then made into a Roman province, which included Illyria and Epirus. A road—the Via Egnatia—was built from Dyrrhachium to Thessalonica.

Fall of Corinth, 146 B.C. The Greeks still quarrelled among themselves. In 149 the Achaean League attacked Sparta, and Sparta appealed to Rome. In spite of the warnings of Metellus the League persevered. In 147 it was beaten by him near Thermopylae, and in the following year by Mummius near Corinth. That city immediately fell into the hands of Mummius. He removed all its art-treasures, burned it to the ground, and, by order of the Senate, cursed the ground on which it stood. Commercial jealousy was the chief reason for the destruction of Corinth, as it was also for the destruction of Carthage in the same year. The affairs of Greece were placed under the control of the governor of Macedonia; it did not become a province—Achaea—until the time of Augustus. Some of the famous Greek cities, such as Athens and Sparta, were made *civitates foederatae*, and remained practically independent.

The End of Carthage, 146 B.C. By the prudent reforms introduced by Hannibal before he was driven into exile

Carthage had in large measure recovered her trade and her prosperity. Roman cunning, however, had left Massinissa on her flank to spy and annoy, and he continued faithful to his task through a long reign of over fifty years. In 151 B.C. the Carthaginians could stand his intrigues no longer, and made war upon him without the permission of Rome. In 149 the Senate interfered, and the peace party at Carthage offered their submission. They gave 300 hostages from their noblest families. They next surrendered all their munitions of war. They were finally ordered to leave their city and build a new one ten miles from the sea. That was equivalent to bidding them cease to exist, and a burst of Semitic frenzy shook the whole population. In the course of a month, by toiling day and night—men, women, and children—they re-armed their city, and held out stoutly for three years. In 147 the younger Scipio Africanus—who was by birth the son of Paullus, victor at Pydna, and the adopted son of the son of the elder Africanus—succeeded in blocking up their harbour, and in the following spring the Romans forced their way into the city. After six days' fighting the survivors surrendered—50,000 out of a population of probably ten times that number. The city was burned to the ground and its site solemnly cursed. The fire raged for seventeen days, and it is said that Scipio, as he watched it burning, burst into tears, thinking that a like day might dawn for Rome, and quoted a line from the *Iliad*: "The day will come when sacred Troy shall perish." Africa was made a province, with its capital at Utica. That city and others which had helped Rome became *liberae et immunes*; the rest of the province was *stipendiaria*.

The **Cisalpine Gauls** had to be dealt with all over again after the Hannibalic War. In 200 B.C. they captured and sacked Placentia, and then began to quarrel among themselves. The Cennomani took the Roman side; the Insubres surrendered in 196, and the Boii were finally defeated in 193 B.C. New colonies were founded at Bologna, Parma, and other

places, and the Via Aemilia—whose name is preserved in the modern Italian province of Emilia—was built from Ariminum to Placentia. The country was rapidly Romanized, and in the following century two great Roman poets, Catullus and Vergil, came from that region.

The **Ligurians** round the Gulf of Genoa, a hardy race of shepherds and brigands, had to be conquered in order to secure the land-route to Spain. They were finally reduced in 165 B.C. The mountaineers of Corsica and Sardinia also gave a great deal of trouble. Sardinia was definitely conquered in 177 B.C. by a second Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.

The **Spanish peninsula,** however, was the country which gave the Romans most trouble of all those that they ever thoroughly subdued, and in none, perhaps, did they display so frequently the unlovely side of their character. It took them two centuries to complete their conquest, for the north-west corner was not finally conquered till 19 B.C.

The peninsula had been divided into two provinces immediately after the Hannibalic War—Northern Spain (Hispania Citerior or Tarraconensis), with its capital at Tarraco (Tarragona), and Southern Spain (Hispania Ulterior or Baetica), with its capital at Corduba; but only the low-lying districts, where the Phoenician and Greek colonies lay, were effectively organized. The inhabitants of the great central plain (the Meseta), whom the Romans called the Celtiberians, were the cause of most of the trouble. Most of the consuls whom we have seen conquering elsewhere spent some time in Spain, gaining triumphs and disguising defeats alternately. We shall pick out two or three of the most notable names and events.

In 195 B.C. M. Porcius Cato (afterward known as "the Censor") was successful enough to celebrate a triumph. In 179 Sempronius Gracchus, by decent treatment, got most of the tribes to submit, and his settlement might have been permanent but for the conduct of his successors. In 150 Servius Sulpicius Galba, governor of Farther Spain, had some trouble with the Lusitanians and massacred 7000 of them

who had surrendered. From this massacre, for which Galba was impeached and acquitted, a humble herdsman named **Viriathus** escaped, to become the first hero of his country. Year after year he defeated every general sent against him, until in 141 he repeated the Samnite achievement at the Caudine Forks. The Senate confirmed this time the treaty of independence which its captured general had granted to secure his escape, and in the following year the brother of that general procured the assassination of Viriathus by bribery. These were the methods by which the senatorial generals were now conducting warfare.

In the northern province the success of Viriathus in the south had roused the Celtiberian tribes to arms. Their chief town was **Numantia**, perched on a precipice on the upper waters of the Douro. For ten years this little barbarian town defied the whole might of the Roman Empire. In 137 B.C. the affair of the Caudine Forks was enacted a second time on Spanish soil. Gaius Hostilius Mancinus was forced to surrender before the walls of Numantia, and was allowed to depart only when his quaestor Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus —noble son of a noble father—pledged his word to secure the independence of Numantia. But the Senate refused to ratify the treaty, and sent back Mancinus, naked and in chains, to shiver before the gates of the town. In 134 B.C. the Senate at last sent out its only general worthy of the name, the younger Africanus. He sternly reorganized the army, drew a double line of walls round the doomed little town, and starved it into surrender in 133 B.C. The few survivors were sold into slavery, and the town was destroyed. This was the last struggle of the natives on a large scale. The two provinces were reorganized by Scipio on the lines laid down by the elder Gracchus, and they were ever afterward the best governed of all the Roman provinces. In the first century after Christ many of the leading literary men at Rome were natives of Spain.

Asia. In the same year in which Numantia fell Attalus

III of Pergamus died and left his dominions by his will to the Romans. The will was possibly a forgery, but the Senate after some time acted upon it. Resistance was offered by Aristonicus, an illegitimate son of the previous king, who defeated and killed the first Roman general who came to take possession. Aristonicus was defeated in 130 B.C., and the territories of Pergamus—comprising the western half of Asia Minor—were organized as the province of Asia. It was then and ever afterward the richest of the provinces.

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CHAPTER VII

THE APPROACH OF REVOLUTION

If our intelligent foreigner of 275 B.C. could have revisited Rome in 133 B.C. he would have found great changes in the city, both externally and internally. The circuit of the walls remained the same, but the city had grown in magnificence, private and public. Greek statues and pictures were now to be seen everywhere; stage-plays had been introduced; gladiators fought on holidays, with one another and with wild beasts. Consuls no longer cooked their own dinners of turnips; they had hundreds of slaves even in their town-houses. The population of the city had grown enormously, and there were crowds of idle loafers in the streets. And if he had been in the Forum toward the end of the year our friend might have seen a wild sight that differed considerably from the triumphal procession of Manius Curius Dentatus—a crowd of citizens were being driven down the slopes of the Capitoline Hill by another crowd of citizens, armed with swords and sticks and broken benches; hundreds of the fugitives were being killed, and their bodies were being flung into the Tiber. He would have wondered very much what had come over Rome if he had been told that the aggressors were senators, for, at the time of his former visit, the Senate had been "an assembly of kings," while now it seemed to be a mob of assassins.

We have already seen a good deal of what had happened in the interval, but we will consider the question again, particularly in the form of what had happened to the Senate.

The Change in the Senate. In 275 B.C. we were informed that the *comitia* was the sovereign power and that the Senate was merely an advisory body. Now in every healthy body

PART OF THE ROMAN FORUM AS IT IS TO-DAY

The three columns belonged to the Temple of Castor and Pollux, first built 496–484 B.C., and rebuilt by the Emperor Tiberius.

changes are continually going on, and we need not be surprised that the practice, if not the theory, of the Roman constitution had altered considerably in the course of a century and a half of such incessant activity. Briefly stated, the Senate had become the sovereign power; the *comitia*, whether in centuries or in tribes, had almost ceased to operate, except for the election of magistrates and the declaration of war. The change was a perfectly natural one. The Senate consisted largely of former magistrates, men who had experience in the business of government; it was small in numbers, could easily be got together, and could *discuss* business. The *comitia* was huge and tended to become huger; it could not easily be got together; it could not *discuss*, but only approve or disapprove. Why summon it at all in a moment of emergency, when the Senate could do the business much better? Such a 'moment' of emergency had come in the fifteen years of Hannibal's presence in Italy. It was the Senate that defeated Hannibal, and its increased power and prestige arising therefrom was no more than it deserved. If it had continued to be as patriotic and efficient after the struggle with Hannibal was ended, it would have continued to deserve its usurped powers. But it failed lamentably in its trust. To understand this deterioration in the character of the Senate we must have a good look at the new nobility.

The New Nobility. The Licinian laws of 367 B.C. had theoretically thrown open the consulship to all the citizens, but actually they had created in the course of time a narrow oligarchy. The Roman was naturally conservative and superstitious, and he seems to have thought that the son of a man who had been a good consul would be a safer consul himself than one who had no such family record. Consequently the same names keep recurring in the list of consuls and other magistrates; and, if this goes on for a century or two, we shall find that any real chance of election becomes confined to two or three hundred families at the most—except perhaps in a year of popular excitement when some outsider

(*novus homo*) of special ability may come out at the top of the poll. These two or three hundred families—plebeian oftener than patrician by the working of the clause that one consul *must* be plebeian—are the new nobility (*nobiles*)—a nobility not of *birth*, but of *office*. Further, remembering that the Senate consisted mainly of ex-magistrates, we shall realize that it, so to speak, was the essence of this new nobility, and we shall get another reason for its increased powers; for the magistrates were not likely to oppose the body which represented their own class and into which they themselves would almost automatically pass. Hence, the *advice* of the Senate (*senatus consultum*) became the *order* of the Senate, and was equal in most matters to a law passed by the people.

Now the magistracies at Rome were not salaried positions; they were honours (*honores*); and public opinion, as well as the Lex Claudia of 218 B.C., forbade senators and their sons to engage in trade. Yet to secure election by the *comitia* required money for bribery and spectacles—more and more money as time went on. The only way, then, for the senatorial families to make money was to grab the public land and rob the provinces. Persons aggrieved by either of these proceedings could appeal to the Senate, but what was the use of appealing to the body which represented the wrongdoer?

The Knights. The working of the Lex Claudia also produced a new class in society. Under the Servian constitution the first eighteen centuries had served as cavalry and hence were called knights (*equites*). The Roman cavalry, however, was now furnished by the allies (later by Gauls, Germans, etc.), but the name 'knights' was still given to all who had the necessary income (*census equester* = 400,000 sesterces). These at first would be identical with the patricians and the Senate; but when the senators ceased to trade and the amount of trading vastly increased the knights became the class who carried on the trade, and they were therefore roughly equivalent to our capitalists. Their capital, however, was not used in great productive industries like those of modern

times, but chiefly in moneylending at high rates of interest (12 per cent. per annum was a moderate rate), in contracting for public works, and in farming the taxes. Senators, no doubt, used their money in this way on the sly, and they often applied to the knights for loans to be repaid when they got a province to plunder. Hence the knights became a great power in the State ; it was chiefly owing to their demands that Carthage and Corinth were destroyed.

Defects in the Government. Roman conservatism accounts again for the fact that in 133 B.C., when Rome was governing directly or indirectly the whole of the lands round the Mediterranean (*orbis terrarum*), the machinery of government was the same as it had been centuries before, when the whole Roman domain had been visible from the city-walls. An extra wheel, so to speak, had been put on here and there, but obviously a new machine was needed. The history of the century from 133 to 31 B.C. is the history of how the old machinery was scrapped and a new system substituted. The change from senatorial government to Caesarism was undoubtedly an improvement, especially from the point of view of the provinces, though to us it does not seem to be ideal. With two thousand years of further experience we can see things that the ancients could not see, and we can suggest things that they never thought of. Here are a few of the points that to our way of thinking lay at the root of the trouble. (1) The Romans never hit on the happy device of *representative government*. Roman citizens by this time were scattered all over Italy and beyond, but they could vote in the *comitia* only if they came in person to Rome on the days when the *comitia* met. That was obviously impossible ; therefore the *comitia* was usually merely the city mob, which was even less competent than the Senate to speak and legislate for the whole Empire. The Senate was, indeed, indirectly representative, since it consisted of ex-magistrates who had been elected by the people ; if it had been made directly representative of the whole Empire, or even of the whole of

Italy, it might have done very well. (2) The Senate (that is, the Government) *was not responsible to anyone*; it could not be *defeated* or *changed*. In the English Constitution the great instrument for controlling the Government has been the refusal to vote supplies. But after 167 B.C. Roman citizens were exempt from direct taxation (*tributum*); the necessary funds for carrying on the government came in from indirect taxation and from the provinces, and they were all controlled by the Senate. There was, therefore, no body which could refuse to vote the necessary supplies and so secure a change of Government policy or of the Government itself. (3) There had been as yet no development of *party government*. The Senate at its best had truly represented the good of the whole body of citizens, and at its worst it represented itself. If there had been two parties in the Senate which could turn each other out periodically, even that would have widened the narrow circle of powerful families; and if the two parties had been periodically voted for by the people the Senate again would have done as well as the British House of Commons.

Party government, or something like it, begins to appear in 133 B.C. The two parties are (1) the Senate and its supporters (*optimates*), who have found the senatorial system quite good enough for them and see no need for any change; (2) the popular party (*populares*), who profess to have the good of the great body of the citizens at heart. The two parties, however, are not, as in a modern state, *in the same house*; the *optimates* propose to let the Senate continue to govern the State, while the *populares* attempt to make the *comitia* and the tribunes of the plebs the governing body. The one party, as we shall see, is just about as selfish as the other.

The Gracchi. The struggle begins with the proposals of the two brothers, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. They belonged to the governing class (*nobiles*)—that is to say, their father and grandfather had held office and been members of

the Senate; their mother Cornelia was a daughter of the great Africanus, and their sister Sempronia was married to the younger Africanus. But they were plebeians and therefore eligible for the tribuneship.

Tiberius Gracchus was elected a tribune of the plebs for the year 133 B.C., without any mention of a 'programme.' It was only after his election that he brought forward his proposals, and they were not very well thought out. They were exceedingly well meant, however, for their chief object was to put a race of healthy yeomanry on the public lands which were illegally held by a few rich families; and they were quite constitutional, for they amounted practically to a re-enactment of the land clauses of the Licinian laws (see Chapter III); but Tiberius forgot that times had changed since 367 B.C. In the first place, the standard of living and the methods of farming must have been vastly different in 133 from what they were in 367. In the second place, much of the public land had changed hands by purchase or been improved by its occupiers; and he offered no compensation beyond the limits set by the Licinian laws to those whom he proposed to dispossess. In the third place, while his proposals might do some good, they did not go to the root of the trouble, which was cheap corn from abroad and slave labour at home. Finally, he had not sufficient driving power of any kind behind him to make his proposals a success even if they were passed.

So far, however, there was no trace of revolution. Even in bringing his proposals before the *comitia* without the sanction of the Senate he had plenty of precedents. The Senate was equally acting within its rights in getting another tribune, M. Octavius, to veto the proposals, and with that veto against them they ought to have been dropped. But Tiberius was a young man greatly in earnest and somewhat in a hurry; he proposed to the assembly—and his proposal was carried—that Octavius be deposed from office. It might seem that the assembly which elected had a perfect right to depose;

but the Roman theory was that a magistrate might resign during his term of office, but could not be removed. This procedure of Tiberius, therefore, was the first act of the revolution.

The laws were duly passed by the people, and a commission of three—Tiberius, his father-in-law Appius Claudius, and his brother Gaius—was appointed to carry them out; and, as the census rose within a few years by 80,000, we may take it that many landless men had now become landholders, and that the object aimed at by Gracchus had been partially attained.

To make himself and his commission safe Tiberius asked for another year of the tribuneship. Here again he might have pleaded common sense, but the *mos maiorum* was against him; Roman magistrates (except the censors) were elected for one year, and were not eligible for immediate re-election. It was this demand for re-election that led to the riot which we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. The cry was raised that Gracchus was aiming at the kingship; Scipio Nasica called upon the consul P. Mucius Scaevola in the Senate to destroy the tyrant; and, when Scaevola refused to shed the blood of a citizen, Nasica called upon all lovers of their country to follow him. These lovers of their country fell upon Gracchus and his supporters on the brow of the Capitoline Hill, Gracchus and many others were slain, and thus occurred the first serious bloodshed within the walls of Rome. Nasica was elected *pontifex maximus* (chief priest) in 130 B.C.; the younger Africanus, when he heard at Numantia of the death of his brother-in-law, again quoted Homer: "So perish all who do the like." The nobles apparently did not realize the danger of the precedent which they had established.

The commission continued to work until 129. By that time it was causing trouble by resuming public land which had been assigned to Italians (*socii*), and on the motion of the younger Africanus its functions were transferred to the consuls; this was equivalent to its suspension. Scipio was found dead in bed after making a speech in the Senate on this question;

whether there was any connexion between the speech and his death will never be known.

Gaius Gracchus was elected tribune for 123 B.C. and re-elected (whether this was now legal we do not know) for 122 B.C. He was of a more fiery temper than his brother, an impassioned orator, and of a capacity for work almost as great as Caesar's. Besides the duty of continuing his brother's work he felt the duty of avenging his brother's death ; these two motives will explain most of his proposals, and the second of them will explain why he went much farther than his brother. We do not know the precise order in which his proposals were brought forward, but, arranged under their two heads, they were something like this. The first group, continuing his brother's policy and securing the support of the assembly, provided (1) that corn should be distributed once a month by the State to all citizens who desired it, at about *half* the average market-price ; (2) that colonies—rather civil than military—should be established at various points in Italy, and one at Carthage to be called Junonia (in the last-named Italians were to be included, and all were to be full Roman citizens) ; (3) that the Lex Valeria, giving the right of *provocatio*, should be reaffirmed and applied to *all* cases, even to a sentence of death in the army.

To punish the senatorial party, and at the same time to secure some more powerful support for himself than the fickle mob of the *comitia*, he made three further proposals. (1) That the taxes of the province of Asia should be put up for auction *at Rome*. This would benefit the equestrian order, in their character of farmers of the revenue (*publicani*), by eliminating the competition of the provincials. (2) That the jurymen in the court for cases of extortion (*quaestio de repetundis*), established by the Lex Calpurnia in 149 B.C., and in new courts to be established for cases of murder, should be drawn from the equestrian order instead of from the Senate as heretofore. (3) That provinces should be assigned to the consuls *before* their election instead of *after*.

Having secured the support of the assembly and of the knights by these measures, he proceeded to win the Italians to his side by proposing that all Latins should become full citizens and all other Italians should receive the Latin franchise. Some such measure was becoming exceedingly necessary. In 125 B.C. the Latin colony of Fregellae had revolted on this very question and had been destroyed. Of all the proposals of Gaius this was the wisest, but the mob in the assembly had no desire to lessen their privileges by sharing them with others, and they began to murmur against their leader. In 122 Gaius was busy at his colony of Junonia, and failed to be elected tribune for 121 B.C., the Senate having won over the mob by proposing, through the tribune Drusus, twelve colonies in Italy. Lucius Opimius, consul for 121, secured that the stoppage of the colony of Junonia should be proposed, and, in the riots that ensued, the Senate ordered him " to see that the State took no harm." This was called the *ultimum decretum*. It was equivalent roughly to the declaration of martial law in a modern state, and, according to the popular party, it was illegal, as taking away the right of *provocatio*. In any case, Opimius acted upon it. Gaius himself did not wish to offer armed resistance, but some of his more violent supporters, under M. Fulvius Flaccus, occupied the Aventine Hill. They were speedily routed by the senatorial forces. Gaius fled, but, finding himself pursued, ordered a slave who accompanied him to kill him. Fulvius took refuge in a bath, but was dragged out and killed. Three thousand of his supporters were condemned to death by a special commission under the presidency of Opimius.

Historians are generally agreed that Gaius Gracchus was aiming at many wise measures, which were adopted later on ; but he failed to see how they were to be put into execution. One thing he proved conclusively—that the assembly was quite unfit to supplant the Senate in the government of the Empire. The saddest thing about him is that his good measures—colonies, extension of the franchise, administrative

reform—died with him, while the evil that he did—the cheap corn and the plundering of Asia—went on. The law-courts remained in the hands of the knights, but otherwise the government of the Senate continued as before. That the Senate was unchanged and unrepentant was clearly shown in the war with Jugurtha which presently followed.

The War with Jugurtha. This should have been an insignificant frontier affair, but through the incompetence and venality of the senatorial generals it dragged on to a preposterous length, and became a political question.

In 118 B.C. Micipsa, King of Numidia and son of Massinissa, died and left his kingdom to his two sons Adherbal and Hiempsal and their cousin Jugurtha. The last-named was much the ablest of the three, and it was chiefly through fear for the future that Micipsa had tried to purchase his good behaviour by making him his heir. Jugurtha had commanded the Numidian cavalry at Numantia, where he had gained the approval of Scipio for his military abilities and had also acquired some insight into the character of the Roman nobility.

Soon after the division of the kingdom Jugurtha had Hiempsal assassinated and drove Adherbal to appeal to Rome. A commission was sent out under L. Opimius—the enemy of Gaius Gracchus—which, as a result, it was said, of bribery, gave Jugurtha the larger and more fertile part of the kingdom and assigned to Adherbal the smaller part next to the Roman province. In 112 B.C., after some years of comparative inaction, Jugurtha besieged his cousin in his capital Cirta (Constantine). In answer to the appeals of Adherbal several commissions were sent out by the Senate, and returned to Rome without doing anything. In the meantime Cirta was captured, Adherbal was put to death by torture, and some Italian merchants were massacred. A violent agitation at Rome, led by the tribune Memmius, compelled the Senate to declare war. The consul L. Calpurnius Bestia, with M. Aemilius Scaurus, leader of the Senate, as his lieutenant,

entered Numidia. A few months later Jugurtha formally submitted, and, on payment of a small fine and the surrender of a few elephants, he was permitted to retain his kingdom—the obvious inference being that Bestia and Scaurus got something out of the transaction. Memmius again came forward and, it is said, ordered Jugurtha to come to Rome for examination. Jugurtha, however, bribed another tribune, who forbade him to open his mouth, and so defeated the object of Memmius. Had Jugurtha been content with this he might have escaped further trouble, but he had the temerity to procure the assassination, in Rome itself, of his cousin Massiva, who was being kept in reserve by the popular party as a possible substitute. This was too much even for the Senate. Jugurtha was ordered to leave Rome immediately, the treaty was declared invalid, and the consul Spurius Postumius Albinus was sent against him. Postumius did nothing, and, when he returned to Rome to hold the elections for 109 B.C., his brother and legate, Aulus, was defeated by Jugurtha and his army sent under the yoke. A court of inquiry was appointed, of which Scaurus cleverly got himself appointed president, and all the generals we have mentioned were driven into exile. The command was then given by the Senate to Q. Caecilius Metellus, nephew of the Metellus who finished the Macedonian wars, a haughty aristocrat, but at least incorruptible. Metellus, with the help of his lieutenant Gaius Marius, reorganized the army and soon overran the greater part of Numidia, but to capture Jugurtha in his deserts was beyond him. Marius now began to think that he himself would make a more successful commander-in-chief, and applied for leave of absence to stand for the consulship at Rome. Metellus first sneered at him—though the Metelli were plebeians themselves—saying, "It will be time enough for you to stand for the consulship when my son is ready," and finally detained him till only twelve days were left before the elections.

Marius was the son of a ploughman at Arpinum in the

Volscian country. He had served with distinction at Numantia and was popular with the rank and file. He had already been praetor, and had succeeded in marrying into the noble patrician family of the Julii. In spite of the shortness of the time, and partly owing to his un-Roman criticisms of his superior officer, he was elected by an overwhelming majority (for 107 B.C.) and appointed to supersede Metellus by a special *decree of the assembly*. In raising his troops he took the first of his steps in creating that Roman army which is familiar to us in Caesar's Gallic wars : he recruited his men chiefly from the lowest class in the census, the *capite censi*, who had not hitherto been called upon to serve in the army except in extreme emergency. He thereby avoided the necessity of putting into operation the regular machinery of *conscription*, which the citizens of his day hated most heartily, and he originated a professional and long-service army. With it he crossed into Numidia, and after a long spell of drill captured the fortress of Capsa and got possession of Eastern Numidia. In 106 B.C. he marched westward as far as the boundaries of Mauretania, the king of which, Bocchus, was Jugurtha's father-in-law. On his retreat from this advanced position he was several times in danger of being enveloped by the combined forces of Bocchus and Jugurtha, and on one of these occasions he was saved only by the brilliant manoeuvres of Sulla, his cavalry officer. The war was still no nearer an end. Marius had recourse to intrigue. In 105 Bocchus was induced to deliver Jugurtha into the hands of Sulla, who conveyed him to the Roman lines. Marius triumphed in the following year, but never forgave his brilliant lieutenant. Jugurtha formed part of the triumphal procession, after which he was thrown into the dungeon at the foot of the Capitoline Hill (the Tullianum) to die of starvation. The western half of Numidia was given to Bocchus as the reward of his treachery ; the eastern half was given to Gauda, a brother of Jugurtha. Rome was not in a position at that moment to undertake a new province, for a great danger was threatening nearer home.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BARBARIANS AND THE SOCIAL WAR

The Northern Frontier. In her task of defending and extending the Mediterranean civilization one of Rome's most difficult problems was to find defensible frontiers, especially on the north. The Alps, in spite of their bulk, have never kept an invader out of Italy, and we shall see that at a later period the northern frontier was fixed considerably beyond them. At the time we have now reached Roman influence extended to the foot of the Alps, but no province was yet made in that region. Between the Ligurians and Spain the communications had been kept open by the allied city of Massilia (Marseilles), an old Greek colony, but in 125 B.C. M. Fulvius Flaccus, the friend of Gaius Gracchus, laid the foundation for the future conquest of Gaul by defeating the Salluvii, who lived between the Lower Rhone and the Alps. This was followed by the defeat of the Allobroges and the Arverni in 121 B.C. by the consul Q. Fabius Maximus. The valley of the Rhone up to Geneva was then made into a province, with its capital at Narbo (Narbonne), where a Roman colony was established in 118 B.C., partly with the selfish intention of superseding Massilia. The Latin word *provincia* still survives in the name Provence.

The Cimbri and the Teutones. In 113 B.C. the Cimbri, a *nation* on the move, pushed out of their homes round the Baltic Sea by some movement of the nations farther east, had appeared on the north-east frontier of Italy, and defeated a Roman army under Cn. Papirius Carbo. They were a race of fair-haired giants, somewhat like the Gauls, and they formed the vanguard of those barbarian hordes who finally overwhelmed the Empire five centuries later. After defeating Papirius they kept along the northern side of the Alps, crossed

the Jura, and settled down for a time in Gaul. In 109 B.C. they defeated M. Junius Silanus, who had moved up the Rhone to protect the Allobroges, but still refrained from following up their advantage. In 107 B.C. the Tigurini, a canton of the Helvetii in modern Switzerland, followed the example of the Cimbri by leaving their homes, and defeated a Roman army under the consul L. Cassius Longinus on the Garonne, sending the survivors under the yoke. In 105 B.C. three Roman armies opposed the barbarians, who at length seemed to be proposing to advance on Italy. The first, under M. Aurelius Scaurus, was defeated on the left bank of the Rhone, and its commander was put to death for ordering the barbarian king to keep his hands off Italy. The other two armies then concentrated on the left bank lower down, somewhere near Arausio (Orange), but the two commanders—the consul Mallius and the pro-consul Caepio—like the two consuls at Cannae, did not work harmoniously together, and the result was a disaster comparable to Cannae. It is said that 120,000 men fell on the Roman side—but casualties were not so precisely reckoned in ancient as in modern times—of whom two-thirds were Roman citizens. There was panic at Rome. All men of military age were forbidden to leave Italy. Caepio's command was taken from him by a *decree of the people* ; he was afterward expelled from the Senate and died in poverty and exile. The Cimbri, however, with barbarian 'levity' passed into Spain and wasted their strength on the warlike Celtiberians, and at the same time Marius returned from Numidia. He was elected to the consulship again for 104 B.C., and re-elected for four successive years thereafter, in spite of a law passed about 150 B.C. forbidding re-election to the consulship. Immediately after his triumph for the Numidian War was over Marius hastened to the Province and completed the creation of the new army. Only a few of the changes can be mentioned here. (1) Each soldier was individually taught the use of his weapons, after the manner of the gladiatorial schools. (2) The legion, for two centuries at least before this time, had been arranged

in three lines, called *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii* respectively. These had differed in age and in equipment. *All* the soldiers of the legion were now treated and equipped in the same way. (3) The cohort, of which there were ten in each legion, became the tactical unit. The cohorts of each legion were still arranged in three lines, four in the first line, with a space between them equal to the front of a cohort; three in the second line behind the gaps in the first line; and three in the third line as a final reserve. (4) Each cohort had a standard (*signum*), and each legion either now for the first time received a silver eagle (*aquila*), or the eagle alone was retained out of a larger number of animal standards.

In 103 B.C. the Cimbri reappeared from Spain, travelled up the west coast of Gaul, were joined by another tribe of wanderers—the Teutones—and were turned southward again by the Belgae. They then separated, the Teutones intending to enter Italy from the west, the Cimbri from the east, to reunite in Cisalpine Gaul. Marius waited for the Teutones at the junction of the Rhone and the Isère, and his position there compelled them to take the coast road. He waited patiently within his fortifications while the enemy for six days marched past and jeered as they went, asking if there were any messages for Italy. Marius followed cautiously after them, and at Aquae Sextiae (Aix), some twelve Roman miles from Marseilles, he extirpated the whole nation (102 B.C.). Names of places in the neighbourhood, and human bones and weapons still dug up from the soil, perpetuate the memory of the great battle.

Meanwhile the other consul, Q. Lutatius Catulus, waited for the Cimbri near Verona. As soon as they appeared his legions broke and fled, escaping with difficulty across the Po and abandoning the whole district between that river and the Alps. Next year he was joined by Marius, and the two together at a place called Campi Raudii, near Vercellae, destroyed the Cimbri as Marius had destroyed the Teutones; only a handful survived to be led in the triumphal procession.

Catulus, the aristocrat, claimed his share in the triumph, but it was Marius, the ploughman's son, who had saved Rome and civilization from destruction. It was not till A.D. 402 that barbarians again appeared on Italian soil, and by that time Rome had left her mark even on the barbarians who were assailing her. Whatever Marius did in later years, his defeat of the barbarians must be for ever remembered to his honour.

The Lex Domitia. In 104 B.C. a law was passed by the tribune Domitius, an ancestor of the Emperor Nero, which transferred the filling of vacancies in the priestly colleges from the colleges themselves to seventeen of the thirty-five tribes, chosen by lot. To explain the significance of this law some further information about the Roman religion is necessary.

The Romans believed in the existence of a large number of gods, with Father Jove—the sky-god—at their head; Jove and eleven others were the twelve great gods. These were identified with corresponding Greek gods when the Romans became acquainted with the Greeks, and the Romans—especially their poets—applied the rich mythology of the Greeks to their own much vaguer deities. The Romans were also fond of deifying abstract qualities, such as Fides, Concordia, Fors, Fortuna; but the most typically Roman part of their religion was the two bodies of pontiffs and augurs.

The *pontiffs* at this time were nine in number, headed by the *pontifex maximus*. It was the principal duty of the pontiffs to regulate the calendar and to say on which days legal business could be carried on (*dies fasti*) and on which it could not (*dies nefasti*). Plebeians were admitted to this office in 300 B.C. by the Lex Ogulnia, but, as vacancies were filled up by co-optation, it remained entirely in the hands of the nobles, and they could use their powers to stop any assembly that was likely to annoy them by proclaiming a *dies nefastus*. Both pontiffs and augurs held office for life.

The *augurs* were also nine in number and might be plebeians, but this college too was controlled in the same way as the

college of pontiffs. The augurs laid down the forms for the taking of the auspices by the magistrates, and, by declaring that the omens were unfavourable (*obnuntiatio*), they also could stop public business.

It will thus be seen that the Roman religion, never of much spiritual value, was become merely a political department, and the Lex Domitia treated it as such.

The Fall of Marius. With the destruction of the Cimbri Marius' occupation was gone. He was merely a soldier, not a statesman, nor a politician, nor a society man. He wished, however, to retain his commanding position in the State, and, as it did not occur to him to use his army for that purpose, he allied himself with the popular leaders Saturninus and Glaucia in order to secure his sixth consulship for the year 100 B.C. Glaucia was elected praetor for that year, and Saturninus just contrived to get in as the tenth tribune by murdering the senatorial candidate Nonius.

Saturninus then proposed an agrarian law, which assigned the lands conquered by the Cimbri to the soldiers of Marius, and the law was carried, chiefly by these soldiers themselves. The Senate tried the *obnuntiatio* of an impending thunderstorm, but Saturninus merely told them to beware of the hailstones. The law contained a clause ordering magistrates and senators within five days to swear that they would carry out its provisions—a curious reversal of the old custom by which the Senate gave its approval (*auctoritas*) to a proposed law. Marius at first refused to take the oath, and the Senate followed his lead; but as the five days drew to an end he took the oath with the proviso "so far as the law was constitutional." The Senate again followed his lead, with the single exception of Metellus Numidicus, who preferred to leave Rome.

The popular leaders, like the Gracchi, felt the need for another year of office. Saturninus was re-elected tribune; Glaucia, the praetor, illegally stood for the consulship. The senatorial candidate for the consulship was the renegade

Memmius, who had harangued against the Senate in the old days of the war with Jugurtha. Memmius was publicly assassinated on the day of the consular elections, and on the following day the two parties appeared in arms in the Forum —the first occasion on which citizens deliberately prepared to join battle with citizens. The Senate passed the *ultimum decretum* and called upon Marius, sorely against his will, to carry it out. The popular party was routed and fled to the Capitol. Marius cut off their water-supply and, when they surrendered, shut up their leaders in the Senate-house (Curia Hostilia), probably intending to secure their escape. But a mob of young aristocrats climbed to the roof, tore up the tiles, and pelted the prisoners to death. Marius made no attempt to save them. The popular party for the moment was broken up. Metellus came back in triumph, Marius retired for a while to Asia, and found on his return that he had been forgotten.

The Italian Question. After a few years of domestic peace a law was passed in 95 B.C. which was the beginning of fresh trouble. The Italians were still waiting for the citizenship, the formal recognition of the fact that Italy and not Rome was now the centre of the Empire. But instead of getting the citizenship they were ordered in 95 to leave Rome and return to their own towns. The law was, no doubt, quite constitutional, and it had the excellent object of preventing aliens from voting at elections ; but it chose a very bad time for reminding the faithful allies that they *were* aliens and must expect to be treated as such. A last chance to settle this pressing question came in 91 B.C., but a famous trial which took place in 92 B.C. is worthy of mention first.

Trial of P. Rutilius Rufus. The juries in the law-courts since the time of Gaius Gracchus had been drawn from the equestrian order. The taxes of the provinces of Asia were collected by the same order, while the governor of the province was appointed by the Senate. In the year 93 B.C. the governor Q. Mucius Scaevola, and his lieutenant, P. Rutilius Rufus,

had nobly protected their provincials from the extortions and outrages of the tax-gatherers (*publicani*). The result was that Rutilius on his return home was charged with extortion and condemned by the equestrian jury. Rutilius retired into exile at Smyrna, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the people whom he had been condemned for plundering.

Livius Drusus. The expulsion of Italians and the trial of Rutilius explain the proposals of Livius Drusus, one of the tribunes for 91 B.C., son of the tribune for 121. He wished to take the law-courts from the *equites* and to enfranchise the Italians. Keeping his second idea in the background for the moment, he proposed that the jurors should comprise 300 senators and 300 *equites*, and that the latter should become members of the Senate ; and, to carry the people with him, he proposed cheaper corn and new colonies. The laws were passed by the people amid scenes of disorder, but they were declared illegal by the consul Philippus, who, by threatening to look out for other advisers, brought the wavering Senate over to his side. Then vague rumours began to circulate of an Italian conspiracy in which Drusus was concerned ; the Senate and the mob both deserted him, and he was assassinated one evening at his own door. With his death the last opportunity of a peaceful settlement of the Italian question was lost.

The Social War, 91–88 B.C. The only resource left to the Italians was force of arms, and the war which followed is commonly called the Social War from their official designation of *socii* or allies. It is one of the unhappiest wars in which the Romans ever engaged. It brought the prestige of Rome lower than even the dire struggle with Hannibal, and it was the first occasion on which the Roman Government yielded to force what it had refused to yield to peaceful demands. Yet, as in the war with Hannibal, we are bound to rejoice that Rome finally won, for the success of the Italians would probably have meant the disruption of the Empire.

The trouble broke out first at Asculum in Picenum. The Senate, hearing of unusual movements there, sent the praetor

Servilius with a suite to make inquiries. He found the people assembled in the theatre for the celebration of some games, and by his bitter words roused them to such fury that they tore him and his suite to pieces.

The Marsians in the north and the Samnites in the south were the two great centres of the rebellion, the smaller tribes of the central mountains joining themselves to one or other of these. A new capital was chosen at Corfinium among the Paeligni, and significantly named Italica ; Senate and consuls were chosen on the Roman model, and a new coinage was issued, of which specimens still survive.

The combatants were pretty equally matched. Rome once again enjoyed the advantage of holding the inner lines, and her colonies embarrassed the confederates as they had embarrassed Hannibal. The confederates, on the other hand, were Roman soldiers, rather better trained than those at the disposal of the Roman Government, and their officers also were quite as good as those on the Roman side. It is said that both troops and officers sometimes fraternized between the lines.

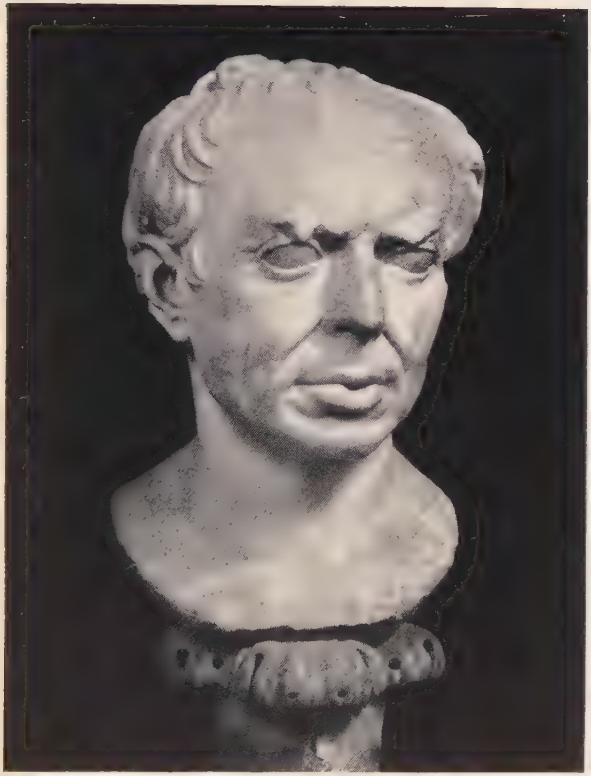
The campaign of 90 B.C. was, on the whole, a record of disaster for Rome. In a campaign against the Marsi the consul Rutilius Lupus was defeated and slain with 8000 men ; his successor, Marius, barely held his own. In the south a large part of Campania was overrun by the confederates, and the colonies of Nola and Venusia were lost. The Senate was no longer the Senate that refused to treat with an armed enemy on Italian soil, and at the end of 90 B.C. the consul L. Caesar passed a law which gave up the whole principle at stake and conferred the citizenship on the Latins and all the Italians who had not yet joined the confederation. This was presently followed by another law, passed by the tribunes Plautius and Papirius, which offered the citizenship to any Italian who presented himself before a Roman magistrate within two months' time. These two laws together broke the back of the confederacy, and the campaign of 89 B.C.,

in which Sulla especially distinguished himself in Campania, brought about the surrender of almost all the confederates except the Samnites, who, as we shall see later, continued in arms for several years.

The Social War caused the loss of 300,000 men—a loss from which Italy never recovered. It became increasingly necessary to draw soldiers from Cisalpine Gaul. The citizenship now extended in that direction up to the river Po, and beyond it many communities received the old Latin suffrage. Besides the loss of men the finances of the State, and the money-market in general, were severely shaken, and much bitterness was left behind to produce further troubles.

Marius and Sulla. During the Social War a dangerous situation had developed in the East, owing to the doings of Mithradates, King of Pontus, and it was now becoming urgently necessary to deal with it. Sulla, who was consul in 88 B.C., was appointed by the Senate, in accordance with the usual custom, to proceed to the East with proconsular powers. But Marius, jealous of Sulla ever since the war with Jugurtha, and rendered still more jealous by Sulla's successes in the Social War, was eager to retrieve his reputation and increase his wealth by a successful war in Asia. He accordingly bought the support of P. Sulpicius Rufus, an accomplished orator and one of the tribunes for 88 B.C., who proposed to the people, and carried in spite of senatorial opposition, first that the new Italian citizens should be enrolled in all the thirty-five tribes, which would give them control of the *comitia tributa*, instead of in eight tribes only as provided by the Lex Plautia Papiria, and secondly that the command against Mithradates should be taken from the consul Sulla and given to Marius, a private citizen.

Two military tribunes who were sent to Campania to take over Sulla's command were torn to pieces by the soldiers. Sulla then marched on Rome. Marius had no troops to put in the field against him, and Sulla with his army entered the city almost without opposition. This was the first occasion



MARIUS (?)

Portrait bust in the Vatican Museum, believed to be that of Marius.

Photo Alinari

on which a Roman army marched into Rome, and it is worth noticing that it was the army of the Senate; the example which it set of deciding a political question by employing the army was to have fruitful consequences later on. Sulla for the moment behaved with extreme moderation. Marius, Sulpicius, and ten others were outlawed. Sulpicius was captured, and his head was nailed to the orators' platform in the Forum (the *rostra*). Marius escaped to Africa after a series of romantic adventures—to return presently. After filling up the ranks of the Senate and passing a law—or reviving an old one—that the Senate's *auctoritas* was necessary before any law was proposed to the people, Sulla hurried off to the East, where a wholesale massacre of Roman citizens had just taken place.

Marius and Cinna. Of the consuls for 87 B.C. whom Sulla left behind one, Octavius, was a supporter of the Senate; the other, L. Cornelius Cinna, was a notorious demagogue. As soon as Sulla was gone Cinna once again proposed that the new citizens be enrolled in all the thirty-five tribes, and that the exiled Marians should be restored. This was opposed by Octavius. A pitched battle was fought in the Forum between the two factions, in which 10,000 men were killed. Octavius won the day. Cinna was, unconstitutionally, deposed, and appealed to the Italians. The army in Campania took his side; the Samnites joined him; and, as he encamped before the walls of Rome, Marius returned from exile. The Senate tried for a while to negotiate, but at last surrendered the city on the promise of Cinna that, so far as he could prevent it, there would be no bloodshed, while Marius stood gloomily by and made no sign.

Once admitted within the walls, Marius ironically waited until the decree of outlawry against him was annulled. Then he turned his troops loose on the defenceless senatorial party, and for five days and nights Rome became a shambles. The consul Octavius, clad in his robes of office, met his death like the senators of the old days of the Gallic invasion. Catulus,

Marius' colleague at Vercellae, was allowed to take his own life. Bodies were left lying in the streets, heads were fixed to the *rostra*, and one more hideous page was added to the story of the revolution.

Marius and Cinna declared themselves consuls for 86 B.C., a curious specimen of democratic methods. So Marius at last secured the seventh consulship which had been promised to him years before. But he died within a few days after entering office, of fever brought on by debauchery—a pitiful example of a man who lived too long.

Cinna remained consul by his own decree, and nominated his colleagues, for four years. The laws of Sulla were repealed, and the Italians were finally distributed among all the tribes. Yet Cinna took no proper steps to prepare for the inevitable return of Sulla. When Sulla's dispatch arrived in 84 B.C., announcing the end of the war and his own immediate return, Cinna and his colleague Cn. Papirius Carbo (not to be confused with the earlier Carbo defeated by the Cimbri) set out with such troops as they had to meet him in Greece, but in a mutiny at Ancona Cinna lost his life, and Carbo was left to face the coming storm.

Before dealing with Sulla's return, however, we must look at the course of events in the East.

CHAPTER IX

MITHRADATES AND SULLA

State of the East. Since the formation in 129 B.C. of the province of Asia, to which Bithynia and Phrygia were loosely attached, the Romans had made in 103 B.C. a beginning with the formation of a province of Cilicia. The central part of Asia Minor formed the kingdom of Cappadocia, which was a friend and ally of the Roman people. The shore of the Black Sea (the Euxine), which had never been conquered by Persia or Alexander, was known as the kingdom of Pontus or Cappadocia-by-the-sea, and was still held by its native princes. Across the Euphrates the new empire of the Parthians had displaced Syria from its position of the leading state of the East, but had not yet come into contact with Rome. The principality of Greater Armenia had thrown off its allegiance to Parthia and was now rising to importance under its king Tigranes.

Mithradates. Such was the state of the East when in 120 B.C. Mithradates VI became King of Pontus. He claimed descent from the old royal family of Persia, and received some sort of Greek education—enough to make him a professed patron of art and letters. He spoke all the twenty-two dialects of his subjects ; made himself safe from poisoning by a course of antidotes ; wandered about his kingdom in disguise ; was a great fighter, eater, and drinker ; in short, an Eastern hero of romance and a coarser sort of Alexander.

Early in his reign he extended his power round the eastern end of the Black Sea as far as the modern Crimea, raised a fleet which made him supreme in these waters, and prepared to do his part in the long struggle between East and West.

In 96 B.C. he had put a son of his own on the throne of Cappadocia. The Senate appointed a certain Ariobarzanes,

at the request of the Cappadocians themselves, but Ariobarzanes was driven out by Tigranes of Armenia, who had married a daughter of Mithradates. In 92 B.C. Sulla, who was then governor of Cilicia, restored Ariobarzanes without much difficulty, but in 91 B.C. Ariobarzanes was again expelled, and Nicomedes III of Bithynia was also driven from his kingdom with the aid of Pontic troops. Manlius Aquillius was then sent out as special commissioner by the Senate, and on his appearance Mithradates once again promised good behaviour. Aquillius, however, instigated young Nicomedes to seek revenge by invading Pontus, and when Mithradates found that his protests were useless he suddenly began in 88 B.C. to make war in earnest. The Roman power in Asia collapsed at once. Aquillius was captured and paraded through the towns of Asia on the back of an ass, after which his "thirst was quenched" by a drink of molten gold. By order of Mithradates, or in a natural outbreak of fury against the oppressor, all the Romans and Italians in Asia—to the number of 80,000—were massacred on a single day. In 87 B.C. his fleet transported an army into Greece under his lieutenant Archelaus, and almost the whole peninsula, including Athens, threw off the Roman yoke.

Sulla in the East. It was at this moment that Sulla landed in Epirus with a small army of five legions, without a fleet, without money, and with the prospect of a hostile Roman army in his rear. The fact that he emerged triumphantly from all these difficulties proves that he was one of the greatest of Roman generals. He defeated Archelaus in Boeotia and marched upon Athens, the fickle Greeks helping him with men and money. Athens held out till the spring of 86 B.C., when it surrendered to famine; it was plundered, but retained its liberty. Immediately after, Archelaus was utterly defeated at Chaeronea; but without a fleet Sulla could not move, and at the same time Flaccus, the general sent by Cinna to take over the command, appeared in Epirus. Flaccus, however, marched through Macedonia, and crossed into Asia,

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25
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35
40
45
MARE EUXINUS
COLCHIS
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Sinope
Dyrrachium
THRACIA
MACEDONIA
Philippi
PAPHLAGONIA
Halys Fl.
Tigranocerta
EPIRUS
THESSALIA
Cynoscephalae
Cyzicus
BITHYNIA
Zela
Cabira
GALATIA
PONTUS
ARMENIA
Actium
Pharsalus
MYSIA
Pergamus
LESBOS
Mitylene
EUBOEA
Chalcis
BOEOTIA
Sardes
Euphrates Fl.
ACHAEA
Corinthus
Athenae
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
PELOPONNESUS
Sparta
Ephesus
Magnesia
Taurus Mons
CARIA
Rhodus
LYCIA
Taurus
Tarsus
CILICIA
Carrhae
Antiochia
MESOPOTAMIA
CRETA
Coracesium
CYPRUS
ASIA AND GREECE
0 100 200 300 400
English Miles
Tigris Fl.
Euphrates Fl.
Sidon
Tyrus
PHOENICIA
SYRIA
30
35
40
35
40

where he was murdered by his mutinous troops and his place taken by the demagogue Fimbria.

In 85 B.C. fresh troops from Pontus arrived in Greece, and these, still under the command of Archelaus, were completely defeated by Sulla at Orchomenus. The survivors evacuated Greece, and, by means of a small fleet collected by his lieutenant Lucullus, Sulla was able in 84 B.C. to cross into Asia. Even Asia was by this time weary of the cruelty and oppression of Mithradates, and the King was forced to accept Sulla's conditions. He retired within his own boundaries, paid an indemnity of 3000 talents (about £750,000), and gave up his fleet. Fimbria's men began to desert their general, who took his own life, and in the spring of 83 B.C., after restoring order in Asia, Sulla was ready to return to Italy.

Sulla's Return. The few surviving members of the old senatorial party were of course eager to see Sulla return, but the new Senate, as filled up by the democrats, rather dreaded that event ; and the bulk of the Italians were actively hostile. There were some futile negotiations, in which the Senate offered Sulla a safe-conduct if he would come to Rome without his army, and Sulla replied that *with* his army he needed no safe-conduct, but was rather in a position to provide for the safety of his friends. With Carbo on one side and Sulla on the other negotiations were impossible ; the questions at issue could only be decided by war.

The consuls for 83 B.C. were Norbanus and a Scipio, neither of them with any military talent. Norbanus was defeated in Campania and driven into Capua ; Scipio, hastening to his colleague's assistance too late, was induced to accept an armistice for a few days, in the course of which his entire army went over to Sulla.

The consuls for 82 B.C. were Carbo and the young Marius. The latter was defeated at Sacriportus in Latium and shut up in Praeneste. Leaving a sufficient force to hold him there, Sulla marched north into Etruria, after placing a garrison in Rome, and gave battle to Carbo. The latter at first held his

own, but when Norbanus was defeated by Metellus Pius in Cisalpine Gaul the democratic forces began to melt away. Norbanus fled to the East and perished by his own hand at Rhodes; Carbo fled to Sicily, where he was later captured and executed by the young Gnaeus Pompeius, who, with an army raised among his friends and clients in Picenum, had joined Sulla immediately on his return.

The Samnites and Lucanians were now the only hope of the democrats. They attempted the relief of Praeneste, but were checked by Sulla, who had hurried down from Etruria to meet them. They then imitated Hannibal's strategy of 211 B.C. and made a sudden dash on "the wolves' den." Sulla followed in hot haste and came up with them on the afternoon of November 1, 82 B.C., just as they were preparing to assault the Colline Gate. He gave battle at once. It was the last effort of Samnite against Roman. Far into the night the battle raged; morning light found Sulla barely victorious, and the Samnites in retreat. In the course of the day he completed his victory, and while addressing the Senate in the temple of Bellona outside the walls had all his prisoners murdered in cold blood within hearing of the startled senators.

Praeneste surrendered soon after. Marius took his own life. The garrison and the citizens were massacred. The lands of the Samnites and Etruscans were ravaged with fire and sword so thoroughly that they have hardly yet recovered. The first civil war was ended, and a general at the head of his army held Rome in the hollow of his hand, to do with it what he chose. Sulla chose to destroy the democrats and restore the Senate. The hour had come, but not the man.

The Proscriptions. Sulla chose vengeance on his opponents first, and set about it in a deliberate way which was even more revolting than the mad fury of Marius. He published lists of names of those whom he 'proscribed,' and a reward was given to those who brought in heads. The property of the proscribed was confiscated and bought up by Sulla's friends at a ridiculous figure. Names, of course, were added to the

lists by those who wished to get rid of their enemies or to acquire an Alban villa at a low price. The lists are said to have contained about 5000 names, including 40 senators and 1600 *equites*.

The Sullan Veterans. Soldiers to the number of 120,000 were settled on the confiscated lands in Etruria, Latium, and Campania. This was meant, no doubt, to counteract the devastations of the war, but soldiers who had been used for years to the licence of the camp and the luxury of Asia did not make ideal smallholders. Their farms were allowed to go out of cultivation and be swallowed up once more in the large estates, and the veterans themselves were a constant source of trouble in ensuing years. The disinherited, meanwhile, swarmed about the countryside as 'sturdy beggars' and banditti.

Sulla Dictator. Before the end of the year 82 B.C. both the consuls died, and the Senate, according to custom, appointed an *interrex*. To this *interrex*, Flaccus by name, Sulla suggested that the disorders of the State required an extraordinary magistrate, and offered himself for the position. The suggestion was equivalent to a command. The people appointed Sulla dictator, with no limit of time or place and no appeal against his actions, to make laws for the settlement of the constitution; and for the first time since the days of Fabius Cunctator twenty-four lictors were seen in the streets of Rome in attendance on one magistrate. Sulla, one might say, was the first emperor, the only difference being that he resigned his dictatorship when his self-imposed task was finished.

The Leges Corneliae, 81–79 B.C. In his attempt to restore the Senate Sulla used the following contrivances. (1) He filled up its depleted ranks with three hundred men of his own choosing. (2) He deprived the knights of their right to sit on juries. (3) He degraded the power of the tribunes by depriving them almost entirely of their right of veto, and by the ingenious provision that no one who had been tribune of

the plebs could hold any higher magistracy. (4) He made the *comitia centuriata* the only legislative assembly, and even it could only pass a bill which had previously received the sanction of the Senate. (5) He stopped the free, or almost free, distribution of corn.

This part of his new constitution, as we shall presently see, did not last long ; but his arrangements about the magistracies were more permanent. (1) He defined more clearly the *cursus honorum*, or order in which the magistracies could be held. That order was laid down as quaestorship, praetorship, consulship ; the earliest age for the first was fixed at thirty, for the second at forty, and for the third at forty-three ; and no one could be elected a second time to the same curule office until an interval of ten years had elapsed. (2) Consuls and praetors were to remain at Rome as civil magistrates for one year, and then to proceed for a second year to the provinces as proconsuls and propraetors. (3) To meet the needs of the provinces, now ten in number, the number of praetors was increased to eight—making with the two consuls ten provincial governors every year ; and the number of quaestors was raised to twenty. (4) The quaestorship entitled the holder to a seat in the Senate ; there would now be a sufficient supply of senators from that source alone, and the censorship became an unnecessary office. (5) The number of *quaestiones* or permanent law-courts was raised to six. (6) Pontiffs and augurs were again chosen by co-optation.

Death of Sulla, 78 B.C. Having completed his work, Sulla resigned his dictatorship in 79 B.C., retired to his villa on the Bay of Naples, and busied himself with reading books, writing memoirs, and hunting boars for the few months of life that were left to him. His dead body was brought to Rome, escorted by an ever-lengthening train of veterans and burned in the Campus Martius in the presence of the whole population. He had been lucky all his life, had given himself the name Felix, and called his son and daughter Faustus and Fausta. His good luck attended him to the very end, but his ashes

were scarcely collected when all the troubles which he had suppressed broke out once more.

Lepidus. The evicted inhabitants of Faesulae, in Etruria, drove out Sulla's veterans in 78 B.C., and the Senate sent against them the two consuls of the year, Catulus and Lepidus. The latter, by heredity a member of the senatorial party, had joined the democrats. When the Senate recalled him from Etruria he refused to come unless the power of the tribunes was restored and he himself was re-elected consul. On the rejection of his demands he marched against Rome, but was defeated outside the gates of the city by Catulus. He escaped to Sardinia and presently died there. The Senate was victorious for the moment, but it was evident that there was abundant discontent ready to make itself heard and felt.

Sertorius. The remnants of the army of Lepidus, under Perperna, retired to Spain, which for some years had been the refuge of the democratic party. Q. Sertorius, an officer of Marius, had been sent to Spain in 83 B.C. by Carbo. Driven out by Sulla's officers, he had returned in 80 B.C. at the invitation of the Lusitanians. He maintained himself successfully for several years against Metellus Pius, the senatorial general; he won the affections of the Spaniards by his liberal treatment of them, and began the real Romanization of the province by collecting the children of the chieftains at Osca and teaching them Latin and Greek. He added a touch of romance to his position by giving out that a tame white fawn which followed him about was a counsellor sent by the goddess Diana.

In 77 B.C. Pompey, who had defeated the lieutenant of Lepidus in Northern Italy, demanded the post of general in Spain. Not having yet been consul, he was ineligible for the position, but it was given to him nevertheless by the timid Senate, lest a worst thing should befall them. In the course of several campaigns, in which on two occasions the timely arrival of Metellus saved him from disaster, Pompey penned up Sertorius in the valley of the Ebro. "If the old woman

had not come to his assistance," Sertorius said, "I would have whipped the stripling back to Rome." Neither the old woman nor the stripling had the honour of finally subduing him. The Spaniards began to desert him in his extremity, and his own officers plotted against him. Perperna, thinking to take his place, assassinated him at a banquet in 72 B.C. It is satisfactory to know that Perperna was captured soon after by Pompey and executed.

Spartacus. The Sertorian War being ended in this inglorious fashion, Pompey with his victorious army marched homeward and ended another even more dangerous war in Italy itself. The growing popularity of gladiatorial shows had led to the establishment, as a business, of training schools (*ludi*), from which the gladiators were let out on hire to any who needed their services. In 73 B.C. seventy of these 'students in training' broke out of school at Capua, headed by Spartacus, a Thracian, said to be of noble blood, and Crixus, a Gaul. They took refuge on Mount Vesuvius, were joined by runaway slaves and desperadoes from all parts, and presently reached the alarming number of 40,000 men. They defeated the praetor Varinius in 73 B.C. In the following year Crixus and a detachment which had broken away from Spartacus were defeated in Apulia, and Crixus himself was killed; but Spartacus defeated both the consuls for the year and roamed unchecked up and down the whole extent of Italy. The consuls were superseded by Marcus Licinius Crassus. He drove Spartacus into Bruttium, but Spartacus broke through the enveloping lines and might have captured Rome had not his Gauls again deserted him. These were exterminated by Crassus in 71 B.C. Soon after, Spartacus fell in battle in Apulia, and the rest of the campaign consisted of hunting out and crucifying the broken bands of his followers. Pompey fell in with about 5000 of them, destroyed them, and with his usual arrogance claimed the honours of finishing this war as well as the Sertorian War.

Pompey and Crassus Consuls, 70 B.C. Pompey was now,

and remained for many years, the leading citizen of Rome; at any time of difficulty the great question would now be, What will Pompey do? He was not by birth a member of the very old nobility; but his father had been consul, and hitherto he had sided with Sulla and the Senate. He had considerable military talent, but all through his career, until near the end, had the knack of entering luckily into other men's labours and appropriating to himself all the glory which he ought to have shared with them. He was quite firmly persuaded that the first place in public life was his by right, but he had a genuine repugnance to asserting that right by force. He had no tact, no affability, no charm in his dealings with his equals. His greatness was mostly thrust upon him. His vast reputation proved in the long run to be a bubble, and it exploded at the touch of a much greater man who knew what he wanted and took the necessary steps to get it. Yet in the troubled times in which he lived he was one of the most honourable men.

Sulla had allowed him a triumph in 81 B.C. In 71 B.C. his vanity demanded a second triumph and the consulship—although he was only thirty-five—and land for his soldiers. The Senate might have stomached one, or even two, of these demands, but the whole three were too much for it at one time. Consequently Pompey was driven to make alliance with the popular party and with Crassus, the patron of the equestrian order. Crassus belonged to the old nobility, but had devoted himself chiefly to moneymaking. He had been an extensive speculator in confiscated property during the Sullan proscriptions, and was now the richest man in Rome. He wanted the consulship for himself, with the chance of further military glory; for his friends, the knights, he wanted the control of the law-courts, with all that was involved thereby The democratic party desired the overthrow of Sulla's constitution, and while the Senate hesitated the democrats entered into a compact with the two generals as they lay without the gates. Pompey and Crassus were elected

consuls for 70 B.C., Pompey got his triumph, and Crassus secured a division of the law-courts between senators and *equites*. The democrats secured the restoration of all the old powers of the tribunes, and thus Sulla's work was undone by two of his own lieutenants.

Verres. The year 70 B.C. was further distinguished by the trial of Gaius Verres for extortion in his province of Sicily. The case for the prosecution was conducted by Marcus Tullius Cicero, greatest of Roman orators, whose opening of the case was so damaging that Verres retired, with his plunder, into voluntary exile at Massilia. Cicero published the speeches which he did not need to deliver, and so made this the most notorious of such prosecutions, though Verres was probably no worse than the majority of his class.

Pompey retires into Private Life. In the course of their year of office Pompey and Crassus quarrelled. It looked for a moment as if there might be civil war again, for each had his army still under arms. A reconciliation was patched up by the democratic leaders. Both consuls disbanded their armies, and at the end of the year became private citizens. Once again the establishment of an empire based on a victorious army was postponed. There was still some factor missing for the final achievement.

CHAPTER X

POMPEY AND CAESAR

Mithradates Again. After his defeat by Sulla Mithradates lay low for several years recruiting his exhausted forces. In 75 B.C. he was stirred up to new activity by the fact that Nicomedes III of Bithynia in that year left his kingdom to the Romans and brought the Roman frontier up to Pontus. Mithradates immediately overran Bithynia, entered into alliance with Sertorius, who sent him officers to drill his troops in the Roman fashion, and obtained a large fleet from the Cilician pirates. Tigranes of Armenia, who had just conquered Syria and was fighting with the Parthians, did not join him at first.

The consuls for 74 B.C., Lucullus and Cotta, were sent to Asia, to act by land and sea respectively. Cotta lost his entire fleet in a battle at Chalcedon, but Lucullus on land slowly forced Mithradates back into his own territories, and in 72 B.C. defeated him at Cabira. Mithradates fled to Armenia and was detained there by Tigranes in a sort of honourable confinement. Lucullus spent the next two years in reorganizing the province of Asia, which had been brought to the verge of ruin by the exactions of the Roman tax-gatherers as much as by the devastations of the Mithradatic wars. He limited the rate of interest to 12 per cent., which was considered a fair rate in those days, and earned thereby the undying hatred of the equestrian order. He also kept a firm hand on his troops, keeping most of the profits of the war to himself.

Lucullus saw that, in order to secure the safety of the new Roman territories, he must deal with Tigranes as well as Mithradates. To secure an excuse for war he demanded the surrender of Mithradates, and, when this was refused, marched

into Armenia with a small army mainly composed of the troops of Fimbria. He defeated Tigranes in 69 B.C. at Tigranocerta, losing five men, according to his dispatch, and destroying 100,000 of the enemy. In the following year he marched into Armenia proper, but the cold and the hard service proved too much for his army. The men refused to go farther into the unknown. The lieutenants left behind to keep open the line of communications were hard pressed by Mithradates, who once again appeared on the scene. The *equites* had procured the appointment of the consul Glabrio to take over the command, and the result was that in 67 B.C. things had returned to much the same condition as they had been in when Lucullus took up the command in 74 B.C.

The Pirates. Affairs being in this inglorious position on land, the state of the sea had become a scandal and a menace to the very existence of Rome. The Mediterranean has always throughout history been liable to be infested by pirates, but the piracy has seldom if ever been so efficiently organized as it was at this moment. The pirates were now a state, with headquarters in Cilicia and a regular system of officers. The Roman Government had never kept up a standing navy. It left the supply of ships and sailors to its allies, and no one of these was strong enough to do anything against the organized pirates. The consequence was that coast towns were at their mercy. They even sailed into Ostia, the seaport of Rome, and destroyed the shipping there. Noble travellers, like Caesar on his way to Rhodes in 77 B.C., were captured and held to ransom. Ordinary prisoners were sold by the thousand in the slave-market at Delos to Roman slave-dealers. Worst of all, the corn-ships conveying food to the capital were preyed upon as the English preyed upon the silver-ships of Spain in Elizabethan times. Prices rose to an alarming height, and famine was a possibility. The Balearic Islands had been occupied by the Romans so long ago as 123 B.C., in order to clear one of the pirates' haunts; P. Servilius had won some victories in Cilicia and the Taurus

Mountains (78–76 B.C.); Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus had reduced Crete (68–67 B.C.). But driven from one place the pirates simply reappeared in another. It was high time that something should be done to allay excitement at Rome and prevent the possibility of serious trouble from the mob. In 67 B.C., therefore, the tribune Gabinius proposed to the people that the Senate should nominate an extraordinary officer with proconsular power for three years over the whole Mediterranean and the coasts to a distance of fifty miles inland; that he should have twenty-five lieutenants, to be chosen by himself, with the rank of praetors; that he should raise a fleet of 200 ships and an army of 120,000 men; and that the public funds should be placed unreservedly at his disposal. We have seen several successful generals possess themselves of almost unlimited powers; but that the Senate should *of itself* appoint an officer with such powers was one further step on the way to the Empire. Yet the Senate did it, with some feeble opposition, and named the man whom the people demanded. Pompey, moreover, justified his appointment, and for once did a piece of good work for which he deserves all the credit. In the brief space of ninety days he swept the pirates from the west to the east and destroyed their united fleets off Coracesium in Pamphylia. With a clemency unusual in a victorious Roman he spared all who submitted and settled them in various towns in Asia Minor which he refounded.

The Manilian Law, 66 B.C. As a vote of thanks and confidence the tribune Manilius proposed that the conduct of the war against Mithradates should now be given to Pompey, seeing that he was in Asia in any case. This second proposal was carried with even less opposition than the first. Pompey crossed into Pontus and utterly defeated the last army that Mithradates put into the field. The beaten king fled to the Crimea, and there in 63 B.C. took his own life with the sword, to avoid falling into the hands of his rebellious son Pharnaces. Tigranes submitted, placing his crown in Pompey's hands,

and was graciously permitted to reign as vassal king of Armenia. In 64 B.C. Pompey proceeded leisurely into Syria and restored order to that distracted region. In 62 B.C. he returned to Rome, leaving order where he had found chaos.

The Eastern Settlement. Bithynia and Pontus were formed into a province. Cilicia was enlarged so as to include Pamphylia. The interior of Asia Minor was left under native rulers, of whom the most important were Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia and Deiotarus of Galatia. Syria became a province. Judea was made a Roman dependency under the rule of its high priest Hyrcanus. The Euphrates became the Roman frontier on the east, and may be said to have remained so ever after, in spite of several attempts to cross it. The old Greek cities of Alexander and his generals, such as Antioch, were encouraged, and many new cities were founded. Pompey did nothing very new or original, but he carried out very successfully the best traditions of the Roman system of government in the conquered provinces. All his arrangements (*acta*) had, of course, to be ratified by the Senate. We shall see the Senate's imbecility rising to a surprising height in its refusal to ratify these arrangements, but we have first to deal with a curious episode which took place at Rome during Pompey's absence in the East.

Cicero. The senior consul for the year 63 B.C. was Marcus Tullius Cicero. He was a native of Arpinum in the Volscian country, and therefore a fellow-townsman of Marius. Starting with equestrian rank but no political influence, the first man of his family to hold curule office, he had risen by his eloquence through all the grades of the *cursus honorum*, and had obtained each office at the earliest age permitted by the laws of Sulla (*suo anno*). He has left behind him a large number of speeches, letters, and philosophical treatises, which have made him the best known to us of all the Romans and one of the best loved. His greatest achievement was that he made the Latin language a perfect instrument for transmitting Greek culture to Western Europe—an achievement of the

utmost importance in the history of Europe, even if we allow that he was destitute of any ideas of his own. Like many other literary men he was not a great success in politics; he lacked the ability to choose a side and stick to it. Yet his plan of uniting "all the good" against the forces of anarchy was honest at least, and, though it failed to work for very long, it saved the State in the year of his consulship.

Catiline. The discontent which had been growing for some years past came to a head in 63 B.C. The leader of the discontented was Lucius Sergius Catilina, a ruined member of the old nobility. He had reached the praetorship, but had been regularly defeated whenever he had stood for the consulship, although, according to Cicero, assassination of consuls and senators had been part of his plan of campaign. At the elections in 63 B.C., which had been postponed till October 28, he was again a candidate for the consulship and was again defeated. He now turned to rebellion. Troops began to be gathered together at Faesulae in Etruria under Manlius, an old centurion of Sulla, and the promise of cancellation of debts (*tabulae novae*) drew in many adherents. Catiline himself remained in Rome until November 8, on which day, in a bitter attack on him in the Senate, Cicero showed that he was perfectly aware of all that was going on. Catiline thereupon left Rome for Etruria. He was declared a public enemy. The other consul, Antonius, was sent against him; and early in January Catiline fell with 3000 of his men fighting fiercely at Pistoria.

Meantime, in the city his agents—chief among whom were the praetor Lentulus and C. Cethegus—played into Cicero's hands. Every move on their part was immediately reported to him, but he did not arrest them till December 3, after they had set their names to a treasonable agreement with some envoys of the Allobroges who happened to be in Rome at the time. The evidence against them was laid before the Senate, and on December 5 a long and acrimonious debate followed on the question of their punishment. Silanus, consul-elect,

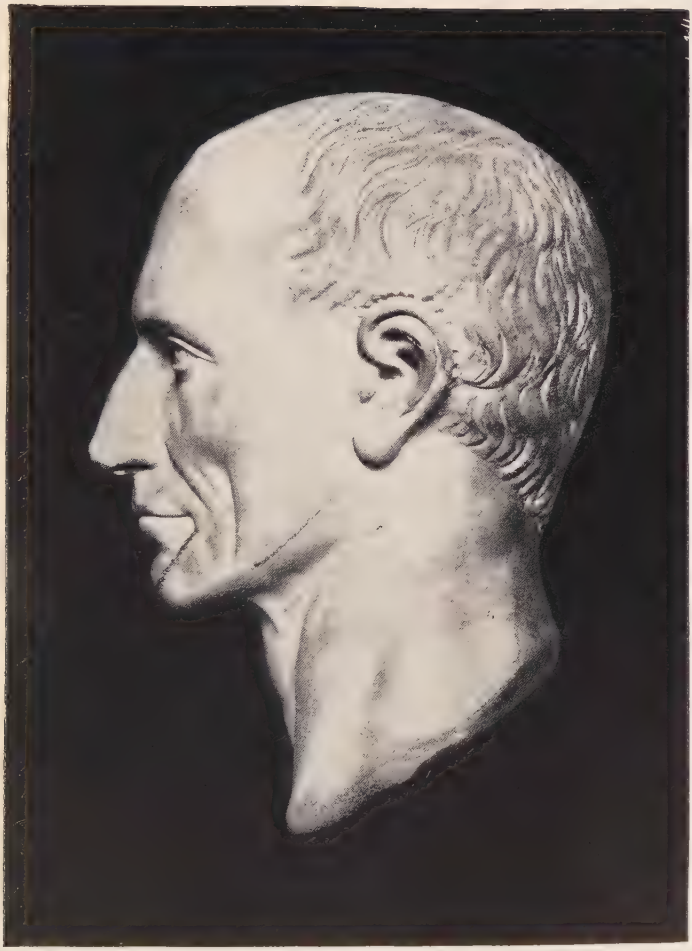
proposed the death-penalty. He was supported by every speaker, until it came to the turn of Gaius Julius Caesar, praetor-elect, who, while admitting their guilt, moved for perpetual imprisonment, and seemed to be carrying a good number of senators with him. But M. Porcius Cato, tribune-elect, interposed with a fiery speech, declaring that these men were public enemies and ought to be treated as such. His energy carried the house with him. The prisoners were conducted to the little prison at the foot of the Capitoline Hill (the Tullianum), Cicero leading Lentulus by the hand through the Forum. There they were strangled, and Cicero announced their fate to the waiting crowd in the single word *Vixerunt* ("They have lived"). They had been put to death without being allowed the right of every Roman citizen to appeal to the people, and Cicero was destined to hear more of this by and by. In the meantime the Senate conferred on him the title of "Father of his Country" (*pater patriae*). On the failure of the Catilinarian conspiracy the democratic party was once more out of favour. Pompey and his army, their work in the East nearly finished, were the only power in the State. What would Pompey do when he returned?

Caesar. The conspiracy of Catiline is to a large extent a mystery to us. One of the most interesting questions connected with it is, Had Caesar any share in it, as was openly asserted at the time? The answer probably is that he had little share in it, or it would not have been such a fiasco. It is time now to look at Caesar, who within the next few years was to prove himself the greatest of all men.

He was born at Rome in 102 B.C. (less probably 100 B.C.) —four years after Pompey and Cicero—of the old nobility, for the *gens Iulia* claimed descent from Iulus, son of Aeneas. He was connected, however, with the popular party, for Marius had married his aunt, and he himself had married as his first wife the daughter of Cinna. Sulla had ordered him to put her away, and his refusal nearly cost him his life. He went off to Asia, and in 79 B.C., in the storming of Mytilene, which

still held out for Mithradates, he gained the civic crown for saving the life of a fellow-citizen. On the death of Sulla he returned to Rome and did some pleading in the law-courts. On his way to study rhetoric at Rhodes in 77 B.C. he was captured by the pirates, paid his ransom to them, then returned with a few ships, captured his captors, and executed them at Pergamus. While quaestor in 68 B.C. he pronounced the funeral oration over his aunt Julia and exhibited a bust of Marius in the funeral procession. As aedile in 65 he gave a magnificent series of games, which incidentally overwhelmed him with debt, and restored on the Capitoline the Cimbric trophies which Sulla had thrown down.

What Caesar's plans were while Pompey was in the East we can only guess. Some have believed that he already had all his future career mapped out, but that is hardly credible. He was undoubtedly able to see that nothing could now be done without an army, and that Pompey on his return would have the State at his mercy unless the democratic party also got arms and money somehow. Accordingly, in 65 B.C. a bill was promoted to send Caesar to Egypt, to organize that country as a Roman province. It had been bequeathed to Rome in 81 B.C., but the Senate had thus far allowed it to remain under its native kings. This would have given Caesar an excellent strategic position on Pompey's flank, but the bill failed to pass. Again, at the end of 64 B.C., Caesar made another attempt to secure a safe position. The tribune Rullus introduced an agrarian bill, providing that all the confiscated lands in the provinces should be sold and that with the money so acquired lands should be bought in Italy for allotment among the poorer citizens. The whole of this immense business was to be in the hands of ten commissioners, with full civil and military powers for five years, and no one was to be eligible as a commissioner who was not actually present in Rome. The bill was defeated, mainly by a speech of Cicero made on the first day of his consulship. The conspiracy of Catiline which followed was the last desperate



JULIUS CÆSAR

From a bust in the British Museum.

Photo W. F. Mansell and Co.

throw of the wilder spirits among the democrats; it is not likely that cooler heads, like Caesar and Crassus, had anything to do with it, unless they meant to step in and use any chance that it provided for them. When Catiline failed Caesar's only resource was to make friends with Pompey. It is worthy of notice that in 63 Caesar was elected *pontifex maximus* by the people, the tribune Labienus (afterward Caesar's chief lieutenant in Gaul) having restored the right of election to the tribes.

The Return of Pompey. Pompey landed at Brundisium in the autumn of 62 B.C., and immediately disbanded his legions. The infatuated Senate, headed by Lucullus and Cato, then proceeded to annoy him to the utmost of its power. Instead of ratifying his Eastern arrangements as a whole, they insisted on examining them in detail; they refused land for his soldiers; and they also broke up their alliance with the knights, which Cicero had striven so hard to bring about, by refusing to grant any reduction in the contract-price for the taxes of Asia. When Caesar returned in 60 B.C. from his propraetorship in Spain he saw the chance of his life and seized it at once, dropping his claim to a triumph for some military successes in his province because it would have delayed his new plans.

The First Triumvirate, 60 B.C. Caesar entered into an arrangement with Pompey whereby Caesar was to have the consulship for 59 B.C. and thereafter a province for five years, in return for which he pledged himself to secure the passage of the various measures that Pompey had failed to secure from the Senate. He also gained the assistance of Crassus and his money by promising a reduction of their contract-price to the *publicani*, and brought about a reconciliation between Pompey and Crassus, who had never been on good terms since their consulship in 70 B.C. To cement the alliance Pompey—four years older than Caesar—married Caesar's daughter Julia in 59 B.C.

Caesar's election was easily carried, and he proceeded to lay his various proposals before the Senate. When the

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Senate refused to look at them he brought them directly before the assembly—a perfectly legal but very awkward method, for it made discussion or amendment impossible. A tribune tried to interpose his veto ; Bibulus, the other consul, reported unfavourable omens ; but Caesar took no notice, and Pompey's veterans overawed the assembly. Bibulus shut himself up in his house for the rest of his term of office, and some wit remarked that the consuls for the year were Julius and Caesar.

Having satisfied Pompey and Crassus, Caesar had now to look after his own interests. The Senate had decreed that the consuls on the expiration of their year of office should receive as their province the roads and forests of Italy. This was not good enough for Caesar ; it did not give him an army. Accordingly, on the motion of the tribune Vatinius, the people were induced to assign to him the province of Cisalpine Gaul with Illyricum and an army of three legions for five years ; and the Senate, to make the best of a bad bargain, added Transalpine Gaul and a fourth legion, because trouble was threatening in that quarter.

Cicero and Clodius. As a provincial governor could not leave his province during his term of office, it was necessary for Caesar to leave things as safe as possible at Rome. Cicero by his gift of oratory might cause trouble, and therefore Cicero had to be dealt with. Caesar offered him a place on his staff, or on the commission that was to allot the land to Pompey's soldiers, but Cicero refused both. He had therefore to be removed forcibly. The tribune Clodius, an aristocrat who had himself adopted into a plebeian family, was put up to bring in a bill which interdicted from fire and water (*i.e.*, exiled) anyone who had put a citizen to death without trial. No names were mentioned, but Cicero, after vain appeals to Pompey and the Senate, retired into exile on the day on which the bill was carried, and a subsequent resolution applied the law to him. Soon after, on the motion of the same Clodius, Cato was sent off to annex the island of Cyprus.

The Conquest of Gaul. The two matters that required immediate attention in Gaul were the threatened emigration of the Helvetii from their homes in Switzerland to some vague country in Western Gaul and the arrogant behaviour of Ariovistus, king of a German tribe which had entered Gaul some dozen years before. Caesar defeated the Helvetii on their march, destroyed three-fourths of them, and sent the remainder back to their homes to keep out the Germans, who were ready to seize the vacant territory. In the course of the same year he drove Ariovistus and the survivors of his tribe across the Rhine. By this time he saw that to prevent further trouble in these regions some larger scheme of conquest was necessary, and he made his intention obvious by leaving his legions in winter-quarters beyond the boundaries of the old province. What he did before leaving Gaul in 49 B.C. was to establish a secure frontier for the Empire in that direction by thoroughly conquering the whole country up to the Atlantic and the Rhine, thereby adding to the Empire a province which was a source of strength for centuries and which, as modern France, carried on the Roman tradition into our own times.

The conquest of Gaul may be briefly summarized thus. In 57 B.C. Caesar broke up the Belgian confederacy in the north by the defeat of the Nervii. In 56 he defeated the seafaring tribes of Brittany, with the Veneti at their head, by cutting the rigging of their ships with huge knives and so turning a sea-fight into a land-fight. In the same year his lieutenant Publius Crassus, son of the triumvir, received the submission of Aquitania. In 55 B.C. Caesar destroyed two German tribes, the Usipetes and Tencteri, who had crossed the Lower Rhine; built a bridge across the Rhine and made a three weeks' demonstration in German territory; and in the autumn made a similar demonstration in Britain. In 54 a more formidable invasion of Britain was undertaken, and Cassivellaunus, the leading chief in the southern part of the island, submitted and agreed to pay annual tribute. The

tribute was never paid, and the Romans did not visit Britain again for nearly a hundred years, but Caesar accomplished his object of frightening them from sending help to their kinsmen in Gaul.

The harvests of 54 B.C. had been a failure, and Caesar was compelled to distribute his legions pretty widely in Northern Gaul for the winter. The opportunity was seized by the Northern Gauls, headed by Ambiorix, King of the Eburones. He attacked first the camp in charge of the lieutenants Titurius and Sabinus, and, by a promise to lead them safely to Labienus, induced them to leave their entrenchments. The wretched Romans were led into an ambush in the woods and almost annihilated. Ambiorix then proceeded to deal with the camp of Quintus Cicero, brother of the orator, among the Nervii; but Cicero bravely stuck to his fortifications in spite of tremendous odds, his own ill-health, and fire in the camp. A messenger finally reached Caesar, who was at Samarobriva (Amiens). He hastened to Cicero's help, raised the siege, and punished the Nervii. Labienus, among the Treveri, was attacked by that tribe under their king Indutiomarus, but managed to take care of himself. The summer was spent in terrifying the northern tribes into submission and in making a second demonstration across the Rhine.

In 52 B.C. Central and Southern Gaul made a last mighty effort to recover their liberty under the leadership of Vercingetorix, a prince of the Arverni. Caesar was in Cisalpine Gaul, and Vercingetorix attempted to cut him off from his legions; but Caesar forced his way across the Cevennes while the snow still lay six feet deep. Vercingetorix then concentrated part of his forces in Avaricum (Bourges) and laid waste the country round about. The town was captured by the Romans after a four weeks' siege, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. Vercingetorix then threw himself into his own capital, Gergovia, and Caesar, after an unsuccessful attack on that hill-fortress, had to withdraw his troops from the siege and effect a junction with Labienus. The latter

had been operating on the Seine ; he cut his way south to Agedincum (Sens) and met Caesar there. Moving southward, the combined Roman forces shut Vercingetorix up in Alesia (Alise-Sainte-Reine, about thirty miles north-west of Dijon). The Romans built one line of entrenchments round the town, and a second round themselves to keep off the army of Gauls which tried to raise the siege. When the position in the town became intolerable Vercingetorix rode down the hill and gave himself up to Caesar ; he was in all likelihood strangled at Rome after appearing in Caesar's triumphal procession.

In the following year Caesar stamped out the remains of the rebellion with blood and fire. On the surrender of Uxellodunum he cut off the right hand of every prisoner and so sent them home to be a warning to others. The year 50 B.C. Caesar spent in conciliating the Gauls and organizing the new territories ; the latter task was not completed until the time of Augustus, but the Gauls gave no further trouble after their subjugation by Caesar.

Events at Rome, 58–50 B.C. The tribune Clodius, whether supported by Caesar or not, got together a band of desperadoes and terrorized the streets of Rome, treating even the great Pompey with scant respect. T. Annius Milo, tribune in 57, organized an opposition gang, and in August of that year secured the recall of Cicero, who fondly imagined that he was once more to become a power in politics. He did his best to break up the triumvirate, but Caesar in 56 B.C. summoned his two colleagues to meet him at Luca on the borders of his province and there came to a fresh understanding with them. Pompey and Crassus were to be the consuls for 55 B.C.; thereafter Pompey was to receive Spain and Crassus Syria for five years in each case ; Caesar's command in Gaul was to be extended for five years, which was all that he desired for the moment, and he got the promise of the consulship at the end of that time.

This agreement was duly carried out. Crassus departed

for Syria in 54 B.C., and met defeat and death at the hands of the Parthians in the following year. He and his legions were lured into the deserts of Mesopotamia, and at Carrhae were surrounded by clouds of light horsemen against whom they could do nothing. Young Crassus, Caesar's lieutenant in 56 B.C., was cut off from the main body with some 6000 men, not one of whom escaped. The main body itself was destroyed a few days later. Barely a fourth of the army escaped. Thousands became slaves to their conquerors, and many Roman standards were left in the hands of the Parthians, to be recovered later by Augustus.

Pompey meanwhile stayed on at Rome and governed Spain by lieutenants. The death of Julia in 54 and of Crassus in 53 removed two of the links in the chain that bound him to Caesar. The constant street-fights between Milo and Clodius, culminating in the death of Clodius on the Appian Way in 52, made the Senate approach Pompey again, and, on the motion of Cato, he was elected sole consul. Since the time of Sulla the name 'dictator' had become hateful to the Romans; but 'sole consul' is an absurdity, for a man cannot consult with himself. It was at this moment that Caesar was faced with the rising under Vercingetorix, and Pompey and the Senate foolishly imagined that they had heard the last of *him*. Pompey succeeded in restoring some appearance of order in the State, and after six months of his sole consulship he chose Metellus Scipio, his new father-in-law, as colleague. He was now definitely on the side of the Senate and opposed to Caesar.

The Quarrel between Caesar and the Senate. During the years 51 and 50 a motion was several times brought forward in the Senate to name Caesar's successor in Gaul, but on each occasion it had been postponed in one way or another. This became the burning question of the day. The details cannot be presented here, but we must try to understand Caesar's position. His command in Gaul would expire on March 1, 49 B.C.; he could not legally hold the consulship until 48 B.C.;

in the interval he would be a private citizen, liable to impeachment for his conduct in his province. Such an impeachment was openly threatened by Cato and the extreme senatorial party, and if successful, as it very well might be, would ruin him for life. Caesar therefore wished to remain in office without a break, for a magistrate in office could not be impeached. What he asked, then, was, first, to be continued in his command in Gaul until the end of 49 B.C.—an extension of command that was often granted—and, second, to be allowed to stand for the consulship of 48 B.C. without personally appearing in Rome, a proceeding which was illegal, but was assented to by Pompey.

The consuls for 49 B.C.—Claudius Marcellus and Cornelius Lentulus—were both hostile to Caesar. On January 1 Caesar's agent Curio presented to them a letter from Caesar containing his ultimatum and asked them to read it in the Senate. They refused at first, but were compelled to yield by the threats of two of the tribunes, Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius. Caesar's offer was that he would give up his *imperium* if Pompey would do the same. Of course he had no right to bargain in this way, but at least he was acting less unconstitutionally than Pompey had been doing for some years. When the letter was read the consul Marcellus moved and the Senate almost unanimously voted that Caesar should give up his command before July 1, 49 B.C., without calling upon Pompey to do the same. The two tribunes interposed their veto, and for several days a hot debate was maintained on the question whether the tribunes could be compelled to withdraw their veto. On January 7 the Senate passed the *ultimum decretum*, and the two tribunes fled for their lives. The news reached Caesar at Ravenna, where he was wintering with only one legion. He delivered an address to his men on the violation of the tribunes' sanctity, and, finding them eager to follow him, crossed the little river Rubicon which separated his province from Italy proper. The die was cast, and the civil war began.

CHAPTER XI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE

Pompey abandons Italy, 49 B.C. It was Pompey and the Senate who had brought on the war, apparently still in ignorance of the kind of man that Caesar was. He advanced so rapidly toward Rome, sparing everybody and everything, that on January 18 the consuls and most of the Senate left the city. They were in such a hurry that they even left the money in the public treasury. By the end of February Pompey and all his men had fallen back on Brundisium. Caesar arrived there on March 8, to find that half of the senatorial army had already crossed the Adriatic. He tried unsuccessfully to blockade the remaining half, but want of ships made his attempts hopeless. Toward the end of March he turned back to Rome. He had no constitutional position, and what was left of the Senate at Rome refused to help him in any way. He made Lepidus prefect of the city, gave the command of the troops in Italy to Antony, and occupied Sicily and Sardinia, in order to secure the corn-supply.

Caesar in Spain. With Pompey in the East and Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, Caesar was in a perilous position, but his rapidity once again discomfited his opponents. He decided to reduce Spain first. Massilia refused to open its gates to him. Leaving Decimus Brutus to deal with it, he hastened on to Spain. In three months the whole peninsula had submitted to him. Afranius and Petreius surrendered at the beginning of August at Ilerda, and Varro in Farther Spain did the same a few days later. Caesar, as usual, allowed any who wished to go away unharmed. On his way back Massilia submitted and was treated in the same way. In the meantime Caesar had been appointed dictator to hold the elections in the absence of the consuls. He held the office

BRITANNIA
Eboracum
GERMANIA
Albis Fl.
Samarobriva
Moenus Fl.
Belgica
Lugdunensis
Aquitanica
Avaricum
GALLIA
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
DACIA
Lugdunum
Cantabr.
Citerior
HISPANIA
Narbonensis
Narbo
Ilerda
Numantia
Tarraco
Ulterior
Saguntum
Baleares Ins.
Carthago Nova
Gades
Munda
Corduba
Italica
Baetis Fl.
CORSICA ET SARDINIA
Roma
ITALIA
ILLYRICUM
Dalmatia
MOESIA
Danubius Fl.
PONTUS EUXINUS
THRACIA
Byzantium
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
ARMENIA
MACEDONIA
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
PARTHIA
ASIA
Corinthus
Athenae
Ephesus
ACHAEA
CILICIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris Fl.
Euphrates Fl.
Antiochia
SICILIA
Syracusae
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
CYPRUS
CRETA
SYRIA
Jerusalem
AFRICA TRIPOLITANA
Cyrene
Alexandria
CYRENAICA
(with CRETE)
AEGYPTUS
Nilus Fl.
THE PROVINCES
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
0 100 200 300 400 500
English Miles

for eleven days, passing various laws—for the relief of debtors, for the enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul north of the Po, and for the restoration of the children of men proscribed by Sulla. He was then duly elected to that consulship for 48 B.C. which had been the object of his long negotiations with Pompey and the Senate.

Caesar in Greece, 48 B.C. Though he was still badly off in the matter of ships Caesar with half his army made a dash across the Adriatic at the beginning of January, and landed to the south of Dyrrhachium, where Pompey had his headquarters. The rest of the army, under Antony, did not get across till March, and then landed north of Dyrrhachium. Caesar was repulsed with heavy loss in an attack on Pompey's lines, but he effected a junction with Antony and retired into Thessaly, where food was more abundant. He was followed by Pompey, whose senatorial friends, elated by their fancied superiority, compelled him to give battle at Pharsalus in Thessaly in June. The motley forces of Pompey were no match for Caesar's veterans. Pompey rode away from the field, and fled to the East ; but even on the scene of his greatest achievements his name was beginning to lose its prestige, and he found it a difficult matter to decide where he could find a place of refuge. He finally decided upon Egypt. That country at the moment was in the throes of civil war, and Pompey was an embarrassing guest, whom they could neither receive nor dismiss. He was assassinated as he was landing in a small boat at Alexandria. Caesar arrived about ten days later, and was shown the head of his one-time friend and son-in-law. He is said to have wept at the sight, but it is difficult to see what he could have done with Pompey if he had taken him alive.

Caesar in Egypt. Ptolemy Auletes on his death in 51 B.C. had left his kingdom jointly to his son and daughter, Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra. The latter had been driven out by her brother's ministers, and was now trying to regain her rights by force of arms. Caesar intervened in the quarrel in the

interests of Cleopatra, being smitten by her charms, and wasted the whole winter at Alexandria when he might have been better employed elsewhere. He was for a considerable time kept a prisoner in the palace by the mob, but in March 47 B.C. some reinforcements reached him from Asia. Ptolemy was defeated, and in his flight was drowned in the harbour. Caesar left Cleopatra and a younger brother on the throne of Egypt, with two Roman legions to keep them and the country in order.

Caesar in Asia, 47 B.C. Meanwhile Pharnaces, son of the great Mithradates, had recovered part of his father's kingdom and had defeated the lieutenant whom Caesar sent against him. Caesar met him at Zela in August 47 B.C. and destroyed his army. It was of this brief campaign that Caesar inscribed on a tablet in his triumphal procession the famous words, *Veni, vidi, vici*. By September Caesar was in Rome, where he had been elected dictator by the people, consul for five years, and tribune in power though not in name. In his absence the praetor M. Caelius had given some trouble by a proposal to cancel debts on the Catilinarian plan. Like Catiline, he tried force, and was joined by Milo, who had returned from exile to see what he could do for himself. They promised liberty to any slaves who joined them, but their attempt proved a fiasco, and both of them fell in battle. Caesar refused to identify himself with any party or any popular cry ; he intended to work for the good of the Empire as a whole.

Caesar in Africa. After about three months in Rome Caesar crossed over to Africa, where the chief supporters of the Senate had gathered after their scattering at Pharsalus. Cicero had been with Pompey, but after the battle he gave in his submission to Caesar, and was spared on condition that he took no further share in public business. But Cato the irreconcilable, Metellus Scipio, Labienus, and the two sons of Pompey had foregathered in Africa. They were joined by Juba, King of Numidia, and collected a force of 120,000

men. Caesar landed in October with barely 5000, and had great difficulty in maintaining himself through the winter. It was not till April that he found himself in a position to offer battle. He then suddenly invested Thapsus. Scipio advanced to its relief. Caesar's men rushed upon their opponents without waiting for orders, and butchered 50,000 of them, with a loss of fifty on their own side. Afranius was slain after the battle. Petreius, Scipio, Juba, and Cato committed suicide. Labienus and the two Pompeys escaped. On his return to Rome Caesar celebrated a fourfold triumph—over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Numidia. No Roman prisoner walked behind his car, but every one understood what the triumph really meant. Yet, after a few weeks' rest, he had to hurry off to Spain, where a few vindictive enemies had gathered head again.

Caesar in Spain, 45 B.C. Labienus and the two Pompeys had got together some thirteen legions in Southern Spain and had beaten Caesar's lieutenants. Caesar himself went thither in December 46 B.C. and after some months of manoeuvring brought on a battle at Munda, near Corduba. It was the fiercest engagement of the whole civil war, for on the one side were desperate men who had no hope of forgiveness, even from Caesar, and on the other men who were exasperated at having to fight again. On the side of the Pompeians 30,000 fell, including Labienus this time, and Gnaeus Pompeius was killed soon after. Sextus escaped to the mountains and gave trouble later on with his fleet.

Caesar's Position. The battle of Munda ended all open resistance. One man was now indisputably at the head of the State, and he meant to use his powers for the establishment of a new form of government. On his return to Rome in September 45 B.C., with only six months of life, as it proved, before him, Caesar found himself in possession of the following powers and privileges: (1) he was *pontifex maximus* (since 63 B.C.); (2) he was dictator for life; (3) he was consul for ten years; (4) he was *praefectus morum—i.e.*, practically

censor ; (5) he was *imperator* for life ; (6) he had entire control of the treasury ; (7) he had the *tribunicia potestas* ; (8) he had the right to nominate half the other magistrates and to appoint provincial governors. In a word, he held over a worldwide empire all the powers held by the early kings over the little city on the Tiber ; and the Empire was established by uniting in one man, who commanded the army, the powers of the various magistrates of the Republic.

Caesar's Reforms. We can see what Caesar did in the few months of leisure that his opponents allowed him ; what he meant to do we can only guess, partly from what his successor did.

(1) He made the Senate once again what it had been originally—an advisory body ; and to show that he meant it to be a council of the Empire he raised its numbers to 900 and included in it some Gauls and Spaniards.

(2) He revived the Gracchan scheme of overseas colonies, of which Carthage and Corinth were the most striking examples, and in his short period of supremacy settled 80,000 men in such colonies.

(3) He dealt fearlessly with the city mob, reducing the number of citizens who received free corn from 320,000 to 150,000, and placed the political guilds and clubs, such as Clodius had organized, under strict supervision.

(4) He benefited Italy by enacting that one-third of the employees on the large farms must be freemen, and by starting great public works such as a new harbour at Ostia, a new road across the Apennines, a canal to drain the Pomptine marshes, as well as many new buildings in the city itself.

(5) He helped the provincials by seeing to it that they paid only what they ought to pay. He abolished the tithe system in most provinces and instituted a fixed money payment, to be collected by the provincials themselves ; and it was not likely that any governor appointed by Caesar and answerable to Caesar would imitate the doings of Verres and his kind.

(6) He reformed the calendar, and as this shows very well his practical genius it may be worth while to treat of it more fully.

The Calendar. It is natural and easy to reckon time by the moon; it is also necessary, outside the tropics at least, to reckon by the sun. Now the moon travels round the earth in about $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, and the earth travels round the sun in about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. Unfortunately, the one is not a multiple of the other. Twelve lunar months give 354 days, leaving eleven days to be reckoned with. The practice of the *pontifices* had been to insert an extra month occasionally after February 23, but they had not done their work very efficiently. In the year 46 B.C. the calendar had got about three months ahead of the sun; that is to say, the calendar showed April 1 when the sun indicated January 1. Festivals were consequently falling in the wrong seasons, and farmers had to go by the sun rather than by the calendar. Caesar's reform consisted in neglecting the moon altogether, and in assigning the 365 days of the solar year to the twelve months. The quarter-day was allowed for by giving an extra day to February every fourth year, and the year 46 B.C.—"the year of confusion"—was made to include 445 days, so that January 1, 45 B.C., was right by the sun as well as by the calendar. Only a slight correction has been needed since Caesar's time, to meet the fact that the solar year is less by a few minutes than $365\frac{1}{4}$ days and that consequently an extra day every four years is a little too much. The extra day is now omitted in a year divisible by 100, unless it is divisible by 400. On the motion of Antony the month Quintilis was called July in honour of the reformer of the calendar.

The Ides of March, 44 B.C. No event in ancient history is more familiar to the English reader than the assassination of Caesar, and Shakespeare's account fortunately keeps pretty close to the facts. The assassination to us seems not only a crime, but a colossal blunder. The assassins appear to have imagined that with the removal of Caesar the free Republic

would automatically return. What did return was civil war, and in a crueller form than Caesar had ever permitted. The final establishment of the Empire was postponed for a few years, and left to a smaller man ; that was all.

Caesar undoubtedly had a weak craving for the title of *rex*, a title which affected the Romans as the red rag affects the bull. He was also treating his great-nephew Octavius in a way which showed that he intended to make him his successor and so to make the new system permanent. Most fatal of all, perhaps, he had got into the habit of treating contemptuously people who thought rather highly of themselves. Whatever the cause, a conspiracy was formed early in 44 B.C., when Caesar was preparing to set out for the East to settle the frontier there. The conspirators were mostly men whom Caesar had pardoned for siding with Pompey, and on whom he had bestowed honours and offices. The praetors Gaius Cassius and Marcus Brutus were the leading spirits. Brutus was a student and a doctrinaire ; his reputed descent from that Brutus who expelled the kings was used very effectively to rouse him into action. Some news of the conspiracy leaked out. Caesar had several warnings, but the plan was successfully executed on March 15, in the Senate-house attached to Pompey's theatre in the Campus Martius, and at the base of Pompey's statue.

Antony. The conspirators failed to arouse any enthusiasm by their deed and prudently retired to the Capitol. The Senate met on March 17, and on the motion of Cicero—who had not been in the plot, but approved of its execution—an amnesty was proclaimed and all Caesar's acts were declared valid. This was a necessary precaution from the point of view of the Senate, because all the arrangements for the government of the provinces had already been made by Caesar, but it also played admirably into the hands of Antony. As consul for the year he was, and intended to remain, the leading man in Rome. He got hold of all Caesar's papers ; read the will to the people and thereby secured their support ;

and authorized everything he wished to do by saying that it was in Caesar's papers. Thus he assigned to himself the province of Cisalpine Gaul which had previously been given to Decimus Brutus, and superseded some of the other conspirators in their provinces by alleging more recent notes in Caesar's handwriting.

The young Octavius, now known as Octavian,[1] had meanwhile arrived in Rome. He was only nineteen, and his character was almost unknown. Cicero, however, saw in him a powerful antagonist to Antony. By a series of speeches, which he called his *Philippics* after the speeches of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedonia, he induced the Senate to break with Antony and make overtures to Octavian. Antony left Rome for Cisalpine Gaul in the autumn, and shut up Decimus Brutus in Mutina. The consuls for 43 B.C., Hirtius and Pansa, were ordered to relieve Brutus. Octavian accompanied them, and in two battles near Mutina they raised the siege. The two consuls, unfortunately, were mortally wounded. The command of the senatorial army therefore fell to Octavian. Instead of pursuing Antony he marched on Rome and compelled the Senate to give him the consulship. Soon after he broke with the Senate altogether and entered into an agreement with Antony and Lepidus. The latter had been master of the horse when Caesar was dictator and was now governor of Hither Spain.

The Second Triumvirate, 43 B.C. This arrangement was ratified by the people and is therefore strictly entitled to the name triumvirate. The provinces and the legions were divided among the three triumvirs, and they received the right of controlling all the magistrates. It was as if three Sullas had been elected dictator at one and the same time, and their first act was an imitation of Sulla. They drew up lists of their enemies and proceeded to have them murdered. They proscribed 300 senators and 200 *equites*, and about one-half

[1] Caesar had adopted him in his will. His full name therefore became according to Roman custom Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus.

of these lost their lives. Chief among them was Cicero, whose *Philippics* were thus paid for. He was killed near his villa at Formiae, and his head was nailed to the *rostra* in the Forum, from which he had so often addressed the people. His brother Quintus, who had defended his camp among the Nervii so valiantly, was also among the proscribed.

Philippi, 42 B.C. The next business of the triumvirs was to meet Brutus and Cassius, who had taken forcible possession of their provinces of Macedonia and Syria. By unmercifully plundering the cities of Asia they had got together a large army, which was concentrated at Philippi in Macedonia. There Antony and Octavian met them in the spring of 43 B.C. There were two battles, with an interval of twenty days between them. In the first Cassius was defeated and committed suicide; in the second the same fate overtook Brutus. Any survivors of the battle who did not submit fled westward and joined Sextus Pompeius, who had collected a piratical fleet and was threatening the corn-supply. The triumvirs divided the Empire among themselves once again. Antony took the East, Octavian the West, and Africa was assigned to the insignificant Lepidus.

Quarrels of Antony and Octavian. The second triumvirate was even less harmonious than the first had been. There were continual quarrels and reconciliations. In 40 B.C. Antony married Octavia, sister of Octavian, but he neglected her and preferred the company of Cleopatra at Alexandria. In 39 B.C. Sextus Pompeius had become so powerful that a treaty was made with him by the triumvirs almost on equal terms. Both Antony and Octavian broke the terms of the treaty, and Sextus declared war on them. He was defeated in 36 B.C. by Agrippa, Octavian's lieutenant, and fled to Asia, where he was killed in the following year. Lepidus attempted to seize Sicily when Sextus Pompeius lost it. He was easily defeated. Octavian deprived him of his position in the triumvirate, and thus the Empire was in the hands of two men instead of three. The quarrels of the two grew more frequent

as a matter of course, for, while Octavian was always in or near Rome and so at the centre of the Empire, Antony felt that he must keep protesting about everything that Octavian did or else he would drop into a subordinate position. Octavian and his lieutenants did some useful work against the Alpine tribes during these years; Antony usually disgraced himself and the Roman name in his campaigns against the Parthians and still more in his pomps and pageants with Cleopatra. The consequence was that the Roman people felt that the quarrel between Octavian and Antony was a quarrel between themselves and the barbarian East, and in 32 B.C. war was declared against Cleopatra.

The Battle of Actium, 31 B.C. The two opposing fleets met at the promontory of Actium, opposite the heel of Italy, on a stormy day. Octavian's ships were less numerous but more manageable than Antony's. The battle lasted all day without result, until Cleopatra in a panic gave the signal of retreat to her own ships. Antony followed her rather than continue the battle, and the flight became general. The land-forces submitted next day, and Octavian's victory was complete. He followed Antony to Egypt next year and defeated him there. Antony fell upon his sword and died in Cleopatra's arms. Cleopatra killed herself with the bite of an asp to avoid appearing in Octavian's triumphal procession, and once again the whole Roman Empire was in the hands of one man.

Octavian returns to Rome. After regulating the affairs of Egypt, which he retained as a private possession of his own, Octavian returned to Rome in 29 B.C. He celebrated a triple triumph, distributed money lavishly to his soldiers and to all the citizens, helped many senatorial families which had fallen into poverty, and began the restoration of temples and public buildings which had been allowed to decay. The powers and privileges which he permanently retained were principally four: (1) the proconsular power (*imperium proconsulare*), which gave him control of the army and of all the provinces

in which an army was required; (2) the tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*) from 23 B.C., which gave him all the rights and privileges of the old tribunes of the plebs; (3) the first place on the roll of the Senate (*princeps senatus*), which rather marked his position than gave him any special powers. He chose later to be spoken of simply as *princeps*, or first citizen, and that word is the proper equivalent for our 'emperor,' for a while at any rate. The Senate also gave him in 27 B.C. the *title* of Augustus, which we commonly use as his *name*; it continued to be a title of all his successors. (4) He was *pontifex maximus* from 13 B.C.

His Success. Augustus lived until A.D. 14 and died peacefully in bed; no serious attempt was made to remove him after Actium. The following considerations may help to explain his success where the great Julius failed. (1) The exhaustion produced by the renewal of the civil war made all ranks eager to accept peace at any price. By closing the gates of the temple of Janus after his triumph in 29 B.C. Augustus solemnly signified that wars had ceased throughout the Empire. (2) The very fact that Augustus was not a superman made it easier for him to find and use trustworthy lieutenants. The most famous of these were Agrippa in military and Maecenas in civil matters. (3) He displayed far more *tact* than Julius had done in dealing with the Senate. He reduced its numbers and restored to a great extent its prestige.

For these or other reasons Augustus succeeded in arousing a new spirit of loyalty among citizens and provincials alike—loyalty to Rome and to himself as the incarnation of Rome. In the city his name was mentioned in the public prayers for the safety of the State, and in the provinces he (or his *genius*) and Roma were worshipped as gods. In Vergil's *Aeneid*, in which all the glories of Rome and Italy are enshrined, the hero Aeneas constantly stands for his descendant Augustus.

The New Government. Though the Roman Republic had come to an end and the Roman Empire had begun, it was still

pretended—and perhaps to some extent honestly felt—that there was no change, and that the Republic had been restored. Augustus was, or pretended to be, the servant of the Senate, just as the old magistrates had been. He left the older peaceful provinces to be governed by the nominees of the Senate, and chose the governors of his own provinces mainly from the Senate. These latter had the style of *legati pro praetore—i.e.*, lieutenants with rank of praetor. A few small provinces, such as Judea, were governed by an Imperial *procurator* (agent); Egypt was governed by a *praefectus*. These *procuratores* and this *praefectus* were drawn from the *equites*.

At home the Senate and the magistrates under their old titles went on apparently in the old way, but the will of the *princeps* was all-pervasive; nothing was done, or proposed, that was likely to give offence to him. In the provinces the change was entirely to the advantage of the governed. Neither senatorial nor Imperial provinces were pillaged any longer in the old shameful fashion.

Settlement of the Frontiers. Augustus and his legates were continually moving about, either peacefully or at the head of their armies. Gaul was divided into three provinces, with Lugdunum (Lyons) as its chief city. Spain was finally subdued by the defeat of the Cantabrian mountaineers. The districts across the Rhine were occupied, but two disasters there—the first under Lollius in 16 B.C. and a more serious one under Varus in A.D. 9—induced Augustus to make the Rhine the boundary of the Empire in that direction. The region north of the Alps and between the Rhine and the Danube was conquered by the Emperor's stepsons Tiberius and Drusus, and formed into three provinces—Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia. The region between Macedonia and the Lower Danube became the province of Moesia. Friendly kings were established in Parthia and Armenia. The boundaries of the Empire, therefore, at the death of Augustus were the Atlantic, the Rhine, and the Danube, the Black Sea and

the Euphrates, and the Arabian and African deserts. In his will he recommended that no attempt should be made to pass these limits. The recommendation was not adhered to, but the only outside province that was at all permanent was Britain.

The Question of a Successor. The only child of Augustus was his daughter Julia, by his first wife Scribonia. As time went on and Augustus still maintained his position as *princeps* men began to take it for granted that he would hand on that position to his heir. Who was to be that heir? The first person designated was Marcellus, son of Octavia (the Emperor's sister) by her first husband. The young Marcellus was married to Julia, but died in 23 B.C. amid universal grief. Agrippa was next thought of, and Julia was married to him in 21 B.C. They had two sons, Gaius and Lucius, who were adopted by their grandfather in 17 B.C. Agrippa died in 13 B.C., Lucius in A.D. 2, and Gaius in A.D. 4. Augustus then fell back upon Tiberius, son of his second wife Livia by her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero. Tiberius had been forced to marry Julia in 12 B.C., and was adopted by the Emperor in A.D. 2. The *tribunicia potestas* was conferred upon him, and his good work on the Danube finally marked him out as the one possible successor. On the death of Augustus Tiberius quietly stepped into his place after a little farcical pretence of leaving the question to the Senate.

CHAPTER XII

THE EMPIRE TO DIOCLETIAN

Tiberius, A.D. 14–37. Augustus, from a cruel and cold-blooded youth, had turned into a genial and kindly man when supreme power came into his hands. His immediate successors, as a rule, suffered an opposite change. Tiberius had always been sullen and unamiable. He was fifty-five when he became Emperor, and many of these years had been embittered by the intrigues of the palace. His mother Livia, who was the strongest force in the palace, had meant all along that he should be the heir, and popular gossip ascribed to her all the deaths that cleared the way for her son. He had been forced to put away a wife whom he dearly loved and to marry the scandalous Julia. He had done admirable work on the frontiers, and yet for years he had had to take second place to the young princes Gaius and Lucius, the sons of Julia and Agrippa. It was only in the last two years of his life that Augustus had grudgingly, and because there was no other choice, marked him out definitely as his successor, and by that time his character was permanently soured and suspicious.

Yet Tiberius, to begin with, was an excellent administrator and carried out faithfully the ideas of Augustus. He treated the Senate with respect, transferring to it from the *comitia* the election of magistrates. He kept a firm hand on the finances, neither wasting himself nor allowing others to waste. He punished severely any plundering of the provincials and followed the advice of Augustus in not trying to extend the Empire. But he failed to excite any enthusiasm for himself or his policy.

Two or three innovations introduced by Tiberius had important consequences. (1) He concentrated the Imperial guards (*cohors praetoria*) just outside the walls of Rome and

placed them under a single command. The prefect of the guard (*praefectus praetorio*) was for a long time the most important officer in the State after the Emperor. (2) He took over from the Senate the city cohorts—a sort of police instituted by Augustus—and their commander, the prefect of the city (*praefectus urbi*), became another great functionary. (3) He took the republican law of treason (*maiestas*), which punished any crime against the sovereign power of the people, and made it include any act or even word of disrespect against himself as representative of the people. Besides providing him with a ready weapon against all his enemies, this brought into existence a hateful class of informers (*delatores*), ever ready to win favour and reward by accusing innocent and guilty alike.

His Relations with Germanicus. Tiberius and Julia had no children. Tiberius by a former wife had a son Drusus, but Augustus made him adopt Germanicus, son of his brother Drusus, and give him precedence over the young Drusus. This Germanicus was married to (the elder) Agrippina, daughter of Julia and Agrippa, a noble but rather arrogant and ambitious woman. The intrigues of the palace now centred round the young Drusus and Germanicus and their wives. Add to these the old Empress Livia, who survived till A.D. 29, and the prefect of the guard Sejanus, a man of Etruscan descent like Maecenas, but, unlike Maecenas, unfaithful to his master, and you have materials for a dozen tragedies.

Germanicus, to a certain extent, brought trouble on his own head by pursuing a more aggressive policy against the Germans than Tiberius would sanction. His greatest crime, however, was his extreme popularity with all classes. He was recalled from Germany in A.D. 17 and sent off to Armenia to watch the Parthians. His command in the East, however, was shared with the governor of Syria, Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, a member of one of the old senatorial families. They quarrelled constantly and bitterly. In A.D. 19 Germanicus died at Antioch, poisoned, Agrippina said, by Piso, and, the

people added, by order of Tiberius. Piso was brought to trial and acquitted, but committed suicide.

His Relations with Sejanus. With the removal of Germanicus Tiberius was free to promote his own son Drusus to the succession. But Sejanus had marked himself out for that position. He got Livilla, wife of Drusus, to poison her husband in A.D. 23 and then married her himself. He involved the outspoken Agrippina and her children in charges of treason, and had them removed by exile or death. In A.D. 26 he induced Tiberius to leave Rome and settle in Campania; he proceeded to rule the city as if it were his own, and in A.D. 31 was ready to take the final step. The Emperor at last realized his officer's treachery, sent a letter of complaint to the Senate, which was only too glad to turn upon the upstart, and Sejanus was torn in pieces by the mob.

The Settlement. Tiberius spent the last years of his life on the island of Capri in the Bay of Naples, indulging, according to malicious gossip, in horrible debauchery. There were now only two princes left who might hope for the place that was soon to be vacant, (1) Gaius, the only surviving son of Germanicus and Agrippina, and (2) Tiberius Gemellus, son of Drusus and Livilla. Tiberius seems to have wished to associate the two together as joint-heirs. This was a contrivance often tried later on, but never successfully. In the present case Gemellus on his grandfather's death was ignored. Gaius had on his side the prefect of the guard, Macro, and the two of them are said to have hastened the old Emperor's death. Whether that is the case or not, Tiberius died in A.D. 37, and the news of his death and that his successor was to be a son of Germanicus roused the wildest enthusiasm at Rome.

Gaius Caligula, A.D. 37 41. Gaius was twenty-five years of age when he became Emperor. As a child he had been the darling of his father's troops on the Rhine—a sort of mascot, as we would say—and they had affectionately nicknamed him Caligula—"Little Boots"—from the imitation of their own

THE AQUA CLAUDIA, NEAR ROME

Photo Anderson

boots (*caligae*) which he wore. He is of no importance in history. The most charitable thing to say about him is that he was mad. His mental disease showed itself within a few months of his accession. He murdered and confiscated right and left; tortured victims while he was dining; wished that the Roman people had only one neck, so that he could strike it off at a blow; made his favourite horse consul; and set his soldiers to gather sea-shells. He was murdered by a palace conspiracy in A.D. 41.

Claudius, A.D. 41–54. It looked for a moment as if the Republic might be restored on the death of Caligula. Some of the praetorians, however, in roaming through the palace spied a pair of legs behind a curtain, and on pulling them out discovered that they were attached to the body of Claudius, uncle of Caligula and brother of Germanicus. On the spur of the moment they hailed him Emperor, and the Senate humbly accepted him.

Claudius had lived so long because he was looked upon as a harmless idiot. He had considerable abilities, nevertheless, and ruled the Empire well. He gave to the Gauls the right to hold office at Rome, thus continuing the policy of Julius. He also began the conquest of Britain, making the first departure from the principles laid down by Augustus. The great aqueduct, the Aqua Claudia, the ruins of which still stretch across the Campagna, was one of his undertakings.

His Freedmen. In this reign we first come upon a class of men who exercised great, and usually harmful, influence on the conduct of affairs. These are the Emperor's freedmen—*i.e.*, men who had been slaves and had received their freedom. They were generally Greeks, often well educated, and, being entirely dependent on their former master, were supposed to be devoted to his interests. They did the work of our Secretaries of State, which no free man would undertake at the time we have reached. The two most notable freedmen of Claudius were Pallas and Narcissus, who had been with him in his obscurity and shared his prosperity. That Felix,

governor of Judea, before whom St Paul appeared, was a brother of Pallas.

His Wives. Claudius married first Messalina, whose name is synonymous with infamy, and by her had a son whom he named Britannicus in honour of his conquest of Britain and a daughter Octavia. Narcissus got Messalina put out of the way in A.D. 48. Claudius then married his niece, the younger Agrippina, who already had a son by a former marriage. Round these two boys the palace intrigues began again. Pallas took the side of Agrippina and induced the Emperor to adopt her son Nero, marry him to Octavia, and give him precedence over Britannicus. Narcissus took the side of Britannicus, and his threatened success induced Agrippina to poison her husband. The guards accepted Nero, with the help of a large bribe, after a few murmurs about Britannicus, and the Senate concurred in their choice.

Nero, A.D. 54 68. Like Caligula, Nero may be regarded as a madman, but his reign lasted longer and he occupies a larger space in the annals of the Empire. The first five years of his reign, while he was under the control of the philosopher Seneca and Burrhus, the prefect of the guard, were looked back upon as a Golden Age when the later troubles turned men's hearts against him. Yet in these five years he was allowed by his guardians to poison his stepbrother Britannicus and to murder his mother. When she was removed his madness revealed itself in wild extravagances of all kinds, while his freedman Tigellinus did any governing that was done at all. In addition to the financial troubles that came of this extravagance, the great fire of A.D. 64, which destroyed Rome, led to much discontent. Conspiracies in the capital were followed by impeachments, which brought death to almost all distinguished men in every department of public life. A tour in Greece, during which Nero competed as a musician at the public games, added disgust to discontent. The legions in Spain saluted their general Galba as Emperor; the praetorian guard approved of their action; the Senate

declared Nero a public enemy, and he fell by his own hand at the age of thirty. With him the family of Augustus came to an end.

Four Emperors, A.D. 68–69. Galba failed, chiefly by his parsimony, to make good his position at Rome. He was killed by Otho, who kept the name of Emperor for about three months. He was defeated near Cremona by Vitellius, commander of the legions on the Rhine, and committed suicide. Meanwhile the Syrian legions had proclaimed their general, Flavius Vespasian, Emperor. They fought their way into Rome and slew Vitellius in the streets. The only interest of this year of confusion is, in the words of Tacitus, that a secret of State had been disclosed—that an Emperor could be made elsewhere than at Rome.

The Flavian Emperors, A.D. 69–96. *Vespasian* was merely a successful general, of equestrian rank, without any prestige or glamour about him. He therefore wisely gave the Senate considerable powers, and by precept and example restored some decency and moderation into the life of the palace and the city. Instead of building a Golden House for himself, as Nero had done, he built the vast Colosseum for holding the games. In his reign the Jews were conquered by his son Titus, whose triumphal arch still stands unharmed in Rome, showing the golden candlesticks from the Temple at Jerusalem being carried in the triumphal procession. On the conclusion of the Jewish war the temple of Janus was again closed for a while.

Titus reigned for two years (A.D. 79–81) and continued the wise government of his father. In his reign occurred the eruption of Vesuvius which buried Pompeii and other towns.

Domitian, A.D. 81–96, the younger son of Vespasian, began well, but a change soon came over his character or his administration. Possibly he did not humour the Senate as his father and brother had done and was driven into a state of suspicion and distrust. He was unsuccessful in his own campaigns on the Danube and jealously watched successful

generals like Agricola. The latter was recalled from Britain in A.D. 85, and his death was possibly hastened by the Emperor. In the last years of his reign Domitian displayed all the mad activities of Nero. He put to death every one who showed any merit of any kind; he fought in the amphitheatre; and he liked to be spoken of as "Our Lord and God" (*dominus deusque noster*). He was assassinated in A.D. 96, as the result of a palace conspiracy in which his wife took part. The Senate ordered his name to be struck off all public monuments.

Nerva, A.D. 96–98. The Senate also succeeded in naming Domitian's successor. They chose one of their own number, Nerva, a kindly old man with some knowledge of Roman law, who, they thought, would be an obedient tool in their hands. Nerva ruled for a little over a year. His only important act was his adoption of Trajan, the commander of Upper Germany, thereby inaugurating a long period of just and stable government.

Trajan, A.D. 98–117. The new Emperor belonged to an old Roman family, but was born at Italica in Spain (near Seville). In order to strengthen the frontiers he added to the Empire the provinces of Dacia across the Danube (Rumania) and Armenia across the Euphrates. His campaigns are still to be seen engraved in high relief on Trajan's Column at Rome. His orders to Pliny, governor of Bithynia, that Christians were not to be actively sought out and punished are still extant in their original form.

Hadrian, A.D. 117–138. Trajan was succeeded by his kinsman by marriage, P. Aelius Hadrianus, who might in many ways claim to be the greatest of all the Emperors. He saw even more clearly than Augustus that the Empire had reached its utmost limits and that it could no longer produce armies for any further wars of conquest. He accordingly gave up the provinces beyond the Euphrates and erected fortresses and walls at all the weak points on the northern frontier; of these the wall between the Solway and the Tyne is one example. He reduced the Imperial taxation by nearly

£100,000,000, and sent Imperial auditors to many municipalities to help them to bring their local finances into order. He established an Imperial Civil Service, choosing men from the equestrian order instead of from the army. He published a collection of legal decisions which became the basis of later bodies of Roman law. He encouraged building in all the great cities; the vast pile now called the Castle of Sant' Angelo at Rome was meant for his own tomb or mausoleum. And, finally, he travelled from end to end of the Empire, investigating and attending to the needs of his subjects.

He provoked the last rising of the Jewish race by erecting a temple of Jupiter on the site of the Temple at Jerusalem. The rising was stamped out with merciless cruelty, and the surviving Jews were dispersed through the civilized world, never again to have a land of their own until the attempt to make a Jewish state in Palestine in our own day.

Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138–161, adopted son of Hadrian, carried on the excellent work of his predecessors, and with such good fortune that there is hardly anything to record in his reign of twenty-three years. In Britain he pushed the frontier up to the line of the Clyde and Forth and united Agricola's forts by a wall. He was succeeded by his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius.

Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161–180, the philosopher-Emperor, whose *Meditations* are still read, spent his life in almost constant warfare on the frontiers. From 162 to 166 he was engaged in the East against the Parthians. He celebrated a triumph over them, but his army brought back with it a plague which devastated Italy. From 167 to his death at Vienna in 180, with an interval of three years when he was called to Syria by the revolt of its governors, he was engaged in stemming the advance of the Marcomanni, a German tribe which was trying to cross the Danube. The noblest of the Emperors was succeeded by one of the worst in the person of his own son, Commodus.

Commodus, A.D. 180–193, took Nero and Domitian for his

models. The praetorian guard again became pampered and powerful, and discipline was relaxed throughout the whole army. On one occasion Commodus killed a hundred lions in the Colosseum with a hundred arrows—from a safe position. He was killed by his own servants in the palace (January 1, A.D. 193).

The Soldier-Emperors, A.D. 193–284. There followed again a period when Emperors were made elsewhere than at Rome; when, at times, every army and almost every legion acclaimed its own commander; and when it often seemed as if the Empire would break in pieces. Yet there must have been vitality and strong blood somewhere, for the end was still a long way off. We shall mention a few of the more prominent names. (1) *Septimius Severus*, of African birth, commanding on the Danube, defeated various rivals and held the Imperial power undisputed from 197 to 211 A.D. He added Mesopotamia to the Empire—its last extension. He remodelled the praetorian guard, raised its numbers to 50,000, and drew its members from all the legions. The increased size and increased pay of the new guard were among the causes of the troublous times that followed. In his reign the Caledonians gave trouble to the province of Britain. Severus made a hostile demonstration as far north as the Moray Firth, but withdrew the frontier to Hadrian's Wall once again. He died at York. (2) His son *Caracalla* (A.D. 211–217) was of the Nero and Domitian type. He murdered his brother Geta with his own hand before the eyes of their mother. The colossal ruins of the Baths of Caracalla at Rome show us one of the ways in which he used up the Imperial taxes. It was merely to find new sources of taxation that in A.D. 212 he bestowed the Roman citizenship on the whole Empire, yet his act may have had considerable influence in holding the Empire together. He was assassinated by his prefect of the guard. (3) In the time of *Valerian* (A.D. 253–260) the Franks broke into Gaul, the Goths into Asia and Greece, and the Saxons ravaged the coasts of Britain. Valerian was captured

by the Persians, who had succeeded to the Parthians, and died in captivity. (4) *Aurelian* (A.D. 270–275), an Illyrian, gave up Dacia to the Goths. He defeated Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra in the Syrian desert, and led her through the streets of Rome in his triumphal procession. As if with a prophetic instinct that Rome itself would soon be in danger Aurelian built a new line of walls about twelve miles in circumference, of which large parts still remain. Aurelian was murdered at the instigation of his secretary. (5) *Probus* (A.D. 276–282), another Illyrian, was more successful against the Germans. He enlisted many of them in his legions and compelled thousands of others to settle down peaceably within the Empire. This policy brought fresh blood into the exhausted Empire and produced in some of the barbarians at least a feeling of respect for the name of Rome which kept them from utterly destroying it when they might have done so. Probus was killed by his troops, and after the brief reign of Carus, the great Diocletian was proclaimed Emperor.

CHAPTER XIII

DIOCLETIAN TO THE END OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

Diocletian, A.D. 284–305, son of a slave in Dalmatia, is famous for his reconstitution of the Empire. To hold back the constant pressure of the barbarians and to prevent the equally constant assassination of Emperors he associated three others with him in the government. He himself with his gigantic fellow-countryman Maximian were the Senior Emperors with the title of Augustus ; two younger men, Galerius and Constantius, were the Junior Emperors with the title of Caesar, and these latter were intended to step into the place of their seniors when the occasion should arise. The Empire was divided into four sections : (1) the East, with its capital at Nicomedia, under Diocletian ; (2) Italy and Africa, capital Mediolanum (Milan), under Maximian ; (3) Illyria and Greece, capital Sirmium, under Galerius ; (4) Gaul, Spain, and Britain, capital Augusta Treverorum (Trèves), under Constantius. Diocletian surrounded himself with all the pomp and mystery of an Eastern potentate, and the various officers of the palace were delicately graded and provided with their appropriate titles. We have thus travelled a long way from the principate of Augustus. Rome with its Senate and People still exists, but the Emperor is an absolute monarch (*dominus*), and his fellow-citizens have become his subjects or slaves (*servi*). The new constitution was justified by its considerable measure of success in restoring competent government, but its success was bound to depend on the harmonious co-operation of the four Emperors, and a series of such Emperors was hardly to be looked for.

Diocletian and the Christians. The Roman Government had at various times, from Nero onward, persecuted the Christians for political reasons. The Christians were at first confounded

with the Jews, and, as these were the most determined assertors of nationalism against imperialism that the Romans ever met, the Christians had to share with them the displeasure of the Imperial Government. The Roman religion, as we have seen, was a branch of the Government. With the coming of the Empire, the worship of the Emperor had been added to it—had become, in fact, its chief outward ceremony. Of beliefs or creeds or theology it took little heed; anyone who paid his tribute of incense to the bust of the Emperor was welcome to *believe* anything he liked. But that small act of conformity no real Christian could perform; hence he must be an opponent of the Imperial system, said the Imperial officers, and a member of some dark secret society. Nor could the Christian take part in any social function such as games or festivals, for the altar of the Emperor or of some heathen god met him everywhere. Yet, in spite of contempt and hatred and persecution—there had been a widespread persecution under Decius in A.D. 250—the Christian religion had spread all over the Empire by the time of Diocletian. Its rapid dissemination was aided by the very system which deemed it an enemy and by the common use of the Greek language all over the East—the universal Empire and the universal language. Its own splendid organization also helped, but undoubtedly the fact that it offered almost the only spiritual consolation available in those troubled centuries was the chief cause of its success. When Diocletian raised the status of the Emperor, he of necessity accentuated the opposition of the Christians, and his persecution was the most severe and systematic that the Christians had to face. Their churches were closed and their property taken from them; the rights of citizens were denied to them, and many were put to death.

Diocletian Abdicates. After twenty years of strenuous activity Diocletian tested his new arrangements by abdicating and compelling Maximian to do the same. The two Caesars immediately became Senior Emperors; Flavius Severus and Maximin, who were not related by blood to any of the other rulers, became the new Caesars. Diocletian remained in seclusion at his villa in

Dalmatia until his death nine years later, one of the very few great monarchs who have voluntarily laid down their powers.

Civil Wars, A.D. 306-323. For the moment the new machinery had worked satisfactorily. In 306, however, when Constantius died at York, the British legions proclaimed his son Constantine Caesar. About the same time the praetorians at Rome did the same with Maxentius, son of Maximian, and Maximian came out from his retirement to claim his old place. Thus for a while there were six Emperors at the same time. By A.D. 314 the number was reduced to two, Constantine and Licinius, the latter of whom had succeeded Severus. Licinius married Constantine's sister, and the situation was in a remarkable way a repetition of that of Augustus and Antony. After years of quarrelling Constantine became sole Emperor by defeating Licinius in A.D. 323 and putting him to death soon after.

Edict of Milan, A.D. 313. Helena, mother of Constantine, is said to have been a Christian, and Constantine himself is glorified in Church history as the establisher of Christianity in the Roman Empire. He was a very poor Christian; he put to death his father-in-law Maximian, his brother-in-law Licinius and the young son of Licinius, his own son Crispus, and his second wife Fausta. His Christianity was merely a means to securing the support of the Christians. The fact remains, nevertheless, that by the Edict of Milan he gave equal rights to the Christians. Many legends are told concerning his conversion. The most famous of them tells how, a little before the battle at the Mulvian Bridge in 312, where he defeated Maxentius, a flaming cross appeared to him in the noonday sky inscribed with the Greek words for "By this, conquer." He was not actually baptized until A.D. 327.

Constantinople. Constantine seems to have felt that the new monarchy required a new capital. He chose for the purpose the old Greek colony of Byzantium, enlarged and beautified it, and named it after himself. It was solemnly inaugurated in A.D. 330 with a Senate on the pattern of Old Rome; but it was and remained for eleven hundred years a Greek city, where the

last sparks of the Greek genius feebly glowed through the Middle Ages and from which the blaze of the Renaissance was kindled.

The Barbarians. Constantine continued Diocletian's policy of settling barbarians within the Empire and enlisting them in the army; barbarian names begin to appear even among the higher officers. In his reign, at the very moment when Rome was sinking to the rank of a provincial town, we might say that the work of Rome had been accomplished. She had long ago absorbed and Romanized the culture of Greece; to that Mediterranean culture was now added the higher morality of the Christians and the fresh blood of the barbarians; and from Greek culture, Roman organization, Christian morality, and barbarian energy modern Europe has sprung.

The Sons of Constantine, A.D. 337–361. During his lifetime Constantine had made three of his sons Caesars, and on his death they divided the Empire among them. After much quarrelling and fighting, Constantius, the second son, became sole Emperor in 353. He appointed his only surviving cousin Julian to be Caesar in Gaul in 355. Julian had considerable success in his efforts to hold back the Franks and the Alemanni, who were now pressing forward into Gaul, and in 360 his legions proclaimed him Augustus. Constantius died in 361 before he had time to meet Julian in battle, and the latter was thus left sole master of the Empire.

Julian the Apostate, A.D. 361–363. Julian had little reason to admire the Christianity of his uncle and cousins. Accordingly he discouraged the new religion as much as he could without actually persecuting it, and attempted to revive the old paganism—not, of course, in its crude form, but as metaphorically interpreted by the philosophers of the day. His attempt failed completely. It was too late in the day, and Christianity held the field; but the name of Apostate which the Christian writers gave him is somewhat harsh. His efforts were well-meant though ill-timed. Julian died in a campaign against the Persians. His last words, according to a well-known legend, were: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean."

The Battle of Adrianople, A.D. 378. The Eastern army appointed Jovian to succeed Julian. He survived only a few months. The Empire thereupon was again divided, this time between two brothers, Valentinian and Valens. Our interest is claimed by the latter, who had to face the strongest irruption of barbarians that had yet taken place. The Mongolian Huns were by this time pressing into Europe, and their impact pushed the Goths across the Danube. The latter were at first kindly received by Valens, but some misunderstandings arose and they attacked the Imperial officers. Valens hastened against them, but was completely defeated at Adrianople. In that battle the Gothic cavalry swept the Roman legions before it, and ushered in the long period of cavalry supremacy on the battlefields of Europe. Valens himself disappeared in the battle, and his body was never found.

Theodosius the Great. After the usual confusion Theodosius, a Spaniard, for a few months reunited the whole Empire. He was the last Emperor of any ability in the West, and the last who ruled over the whole Empire. He managed to deal with the victorious Goths, chiefly by the old Roman device of "dividing and ruling." The power to which Christianity had by this time attained was well shown when Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, refused to admit Theodosius into his church or to administer to him the Sacrament. In A.D. 390 the governor of Thessalonica had been murdered by a circus mob for punishing a popular charioteer. Theodosius ordered the citizens to be invited to another chariot-race and then turned his soldiers loose upon them. It is said that 7000 people perished in the massacre. For this Ambrose compelled Theodosius to do public penance at Milan in the face of the assembled congregation. The Emperor died in the Bishop's arms in A.D. 395.

Final Division of the Empire. Theodosius had raised his sons Arcadius and Honorius to the rank of Caesar. At his death Arcadius took the East and Honorius the West, and the two halves were never again united. Both halves felt and suffered from the increasing pressure of the barbarians,

but the pressure was applied chiefly to the Western provinces, across the feeble barrier of the Rhine. In the course of the next century the West was completely inundated, while the East kept its head up for another thousand years.

The Barbarians invade Italy. Honorius being a mere boy, Theodosius had named as his guardian his trusted general Stilicho; and it is interesting to note that the last, or almost the last, able defender of the Roman Empire was a barbarian. Stilicho twice defeated the Goths when they invaded Italy under their king Alaric (A.D. 402, 403), and later repelled a mixed multitude of Germans who burst into Italy under a leader called Radagais (405). But Stilicho fell a victim to palace intrigues. When Arcadius died in 408 the feeble and jealous Honorius was persuaded to believe that Stilicho intended to seize the Eastern Empire for his own son, and he accordingly had him executed.

Alaric the Goth. The death of Stilicho quickly brought its own vengeance. In 409 and 410 Alaric again invaded Italy, and, on the second occasion, captured and sacked the city of Rome. The entire subjugation of Italy was prevented only by his death in 410. His successors withdrew their forces from Italy, and in 418 Wallia was permitted to set up the kingdom of Toulouse under the protection of the Empire. The Goths of Toulouse pressed into Spain and gradually drove before them the Vandals, who had settled there in 409.

The Vandals. In 429 the Vandals under Genseric crossed into Africa, carrying such devastation with them that their name has ever since been proverbial. In 455 they crossed the sea and mercilessly sacked Rome. In 533 the great Eastern Emperor Justinian, who codified the Roman Law, sent his general Belisarius against them. Their king Gelimer was carried in triumph to Constantinople, and most of his people were drafted into the Eastern armies.

The Huns. In 451 the Huns under Attila burst into Gaul. These were utter savages, untouched either by Christianity or by the Roman civilization, and their success would have meant the complete relapse of Europe into barbarism. For-

tunately Romans, Goths, and Franks united under Aëtius to oppose him, and at the battle of Châlons in 451 stopped his further progress. He was still able to plunder the north of Italy, but at his death in 453 his miscellaneous hosts broke up, and Western Europe was saved from that disaster at least.

The Last Emperor of the West. From 455 onward the Emperors of the West are mere puppets, set up and knocked down again by German captains like Ricimer, or by the more vigorous Government at Constantinople. The last of them by a curious irony was called Romulus Augustulus. In 476 he was deposed by the German Odoacer, King of the Heruli, who professed his willingness to govern Italy as deputy of the Eastern Empire ; and at this point it is the custom to make the history of Rome come to an end. In reality, however, there was no break. Odoacer was defeated and killed by Theodoric the Goth in 493, and the latter reigned till 526 in peace and prosperity over Italians and Goths. In 552 the Goths in Italy were defeated by Narses, general of the Eastern Empire, and disappeared from history ; Italy became once more a province of the Eastern Empire. But in 568 the Lombards, a German people, invaded Italy under their king Alboin, and gradually conquered most of the peninsula. These in their turn were defeated by the Franks, and in A.D. 800 the Frankish king Charles the Great (Charlemagne) was crowned Emperor of the Romans.

Thus the name and the prestige of the Roman Empire was carried on into the Middle Ages in the political sphere, and in the religious sphere the Bishop of Rome succeeded to the functions of the *pontifex maximus*. The idea of the Universal Empire lingered long in men's minds, even when the growing spirit of nationalism had proved too strong for it. The various nations of Europe have each made valuable contributions to human progress, but the prejudices due to the national spirit have been the chief cause of all our modern wars. We shall never see a Universal Empire again ; whether some approach to it in the shape of a League of Nations is desirable is one of the questions of the day.

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL LIFE AT ROME

LIFE at Rome under the later Emperors was naturally very different from life at Rome under the early kings. As the first century before Christ is the period in which we are most interested the present chapter will deal chiefly with that period.

The **City of Rome** in that century had spread beyond the Servian wall and across the Tiber, but it was still very small in area compared with our modern cities. The Forum and the Circus Maximus within the wall, and the Campus Martius without the wall, were the only open spaces of any extent. The Campus Martius corresponded to our parks, where the citizens took their exercise. In 55 B.C. Pompey built a theatre there, capable of holding 40,000 spectators, and a covered colonnade; from that time onward it was more and more encroached upon by public buildings; in modern Rome it is the most crowded part of the city.

The Forum was surrounded by public buildings. At the west end under the Capitoline Hill were the temples of Saturn (containing the treasury, *aerarium*) and of Concord, and the record office (*tabularium*); on the south side were the law-courts (Basilica Julia), the temple of Castor and Pollux, the temple of Vesta, and the buildings required by the Vestal Virgins; at the east end was the *regia*, the residence of the *pontifex maximus*; on the north side stood the Basilica Aemilia; and in the projecting north-west angle (the *comitium*) stood the Senate-house (*curia*) with the old *rostra* in front of it; the Mamertine prison was between the Senate-house and the temple of Concord. The Sacred Way (Via Sacra) ran through the Forum.

The Palatine Hill was the most fashionable residential quarter. The house of Augustus stood there, and under

succeeding Emperors the palace (*palatium*) gradually covered almost the whole of the hill. The poorer people were crowded into tenement-houses (*insulae*) of many stories in the valleys and on the Aventine. The triumvir Crassus derived part of his income from such slum property.

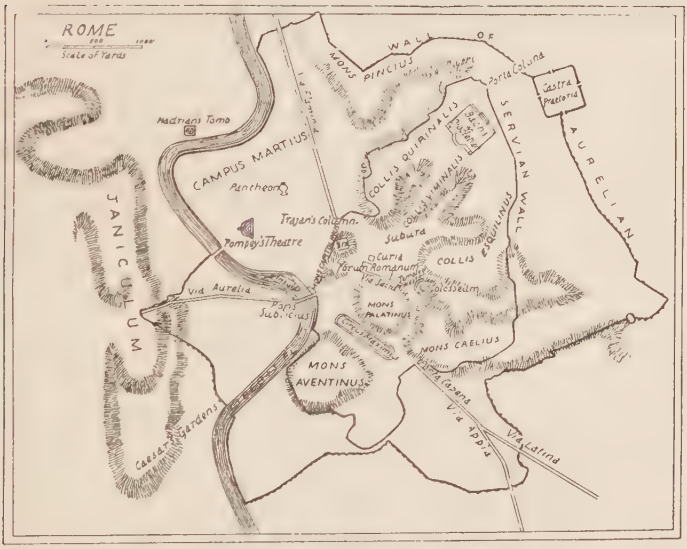
The streets were mainly narrow, crooked lanes, crowded, noisy, and dangerous by day, and unlighted by night. Fires were common, and floods on the lower ground. Police and fire-brigade were unknown until the time of Augustus, who established seven cohorts of *vigiles* for these purposes. Crassus used to purchase burning buildings from their owners for a trifle, and then, with his gang of 500 slaves, extinguish the fire and patch up the property.

There being no coal fires and no factories, the air was much clearer than it is even in our small modern towns.

The Population of the City. The Roman census did not concern itself with the total number of residents, but only with the number of men liable to pay taxes or to serve in the army; hence it is difficult to arrive at any accurate estimate of the population of the city. From the fact that in 5 B.C. 320,000 persons in Rome received a gratuity from Augustus one scholar estimates the population at 800,000, and another scholar at 1,600,000. Possibly the average of these two estimates is nearer the truth. Even the lower estimate gives a density per acre which is considerably greater than that of the most crowded parts of modern London. The population of modern Rome, which is spread over a much greater area than the ancient city, is about 500,000.

The **Roman house**—if a man was wealthy enough to have a house of his own—consisted originally of a single living-room (*atrium*), with two or three small chambers half-partitioned or curtained off from it. Many of the houses excavated at Pompeii have not got far past this primitive stage. In all periods, however, the *atrium* was the main feature of the house, with its hole in the roof (*compluvium*) to let out the smoke and its basin in the floor (*impluvium*) to catch the rain;

but as time went on the rooms round the *atrium* were more definitely walled off. When Greek influence began to be felt an enclosed garden was added at the back, with a covered portico (*peristylium*) running round its four sides and rooms opening off the portico. Between the *atrium* and the *peristylium* was the master's room (*tablinum*), where he kept his



papers (*tabulae*), and from which he could see in both directions. On one side of the *tablinum* was the dining-room (*triclinium*); the larger houses sometimes had several dining-rooms to suit the different seasons. Houses of this type occasionally had one or more upper stories with an outside stair. The exterior of the house was very plain, with only a few lattice-windows (*fenestrae*); the inside might be ornamented to any extent with tessellated floors, marble pillars, and wall-paintings. There was very little furniture.

The *villas* of the wealthy, among the hills of Tusculum

or on the Bay of Naples at Baiae and in other similar places, varied in size and splendour just as the town-houses did. Some of them had spacious covered alleys for walking and riding, baths of all kinds, and extensive gardens. The villa of Hadrian near Tibur covered an area of one square mile. Cicero, who was never a wealthy man, had six or seven villas at various places.

Family Life. (1) *Children.* A new-born child was laid on the ground until the father signified his intention of rearing it or not. If he lifted it (*tollere*) the child was to be reared; if he left it lying it was to be cast out. To what extent exposure of infants existed in Cicero's time we cannot say; probably it was fairly common with female children. These exposed infants would in most cases be picked up by somebody and brought up as slaves. A necklace (*crepundia*) of small metal figures and a capsule (*bulla*) containing a charm against the Evil Eye were worn by all free-born children. The *bulla* ranged in material from leather to gold according to the wealth of the parents. A boy received his *praenomen* ('Christian' name, as we should say) on the ninth day after birth; of these *praenomina* there were less than twenty in common use during the Republic. A girl or woman, having no legal rights, had no name. In Cicero's time she is generally called by the feminine form of her father's middle name; thus Cicero's daughter is Tullia, and Caesar's daughter is Julia. Two names, however, became common, such as Caecilia Metella, derived from the father's second and third names.

(2) *The Lady of the House.* Though the married woman (*matrona*) was legally her husband's property she was socially his equal, and this was undoubtedly one of the elements of Roman greatness. She was not confined to the back part of the house, like the Athenian woman, but sat at meals with her husband and his guests, and to the slaves she was *domina*, or mistress. In the good old days she spun the clothes of the family, and Augustus, as part of his attempted revival, wore a toga spun by his wife. She did none of the menial work of

the house, such as cooking and grinding corn. She accompanied her husband to the public shows, moved freely about the streets, and paid visits to her friends. Like her husband, however, the Roman matron was perhaps more dignified than lovable, and she could be quite as callous in the infliction of pain. Under the Empire women played rather too prominent a part in public life.

(3) *The Slaves.* Having no legal rights whatever under the Republic, the slaves were dependent for their happiness or misery on the temper of their master and mistress. Slaves born in the house (*vernae*) were treated with considerable indulgence. Well-educated slaves from Greece and the East, who acted as private secretaries, doctors, and so on, were treated with respect. Tiro, Cicero's secretary, is written to by his master on terms of equality and friendship. The town slaves (*familia urbana*) were generally better off than the country slaves (*familia rustica*). The worst fate of all was that of the slaves on the big estates of absentee landlords. Left in charge of a bailiff (*vilicus*), himself a slave, they worked in fetters during the day and were herded together in underground compounds (*ergastula*) at night. Some, if not all, slaves received a pittance (*peculium*), which by industrious hoarding might in course of time purchase their freedom. Under the Empire slaves gradually acquired certain legal rights : for instance, Antoninus Pius ordered that a harshly treated slave should be sold to another master. This gradual amelioration of their lot was due chiefly to the Stoic philosophy, which preached the universal brotherhood of man and had a great influence on Roman law in general, and to Christianity. Cato the Censor, in his book on agriculture, treats the slave question precisely as our farmers would treat cattle-breeding ; Stoicism and Christianity both looked upon the slave as a human being.

The price of a slave varied, naturally, according to his qualifications ; Justinian fixed a scale of prices. In Cicero's time perhaps £20 was about an average price for an ordinary

slave. We cannot say how much the slave-dealer would make on the transaction, but we can understand how a successful general made his fortune. In 57 B.C. Caesar captured the town of the Aduatici (near Namur) and put it up to auction with all its inhabitants; those who bought it reported the number of individuals as 53,000. If Caesar obtained an average of £5 per head, he made a quarter of a million on that one transaction—which was only one of many similar transactions during the Gallic War. Slave-dealers must have formed a regular part of a Roman army. Besides this more or less legitimate dealing in prisoners of war, the tax-farmers (*publicani*) in Asia had a regular system of kidnapping and provided the steadiest supply.

Slavery is always bad, for master and slave alike; Roman slavery is probably the worst that ever existed; and of all the causes that led to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire slavery is without doubt the most definite.

In spite of the vast numbers of slaves and the free distribution of corn there were still considerable numbers of free workmen in Rome, and probably far more in the provincial towns.

(4) *Family Religion.* Several of the vague spirits whom the old Romans worshipped were thought of as resident within the house. The most important of these were the *penates*, the spirits of the store-closet, and *vesta*, the spirit of the hearth. The *lar familiaris* seems to have been originally an outside spirit of the boundary-line between neighbouring farms, but he came inside the house at an early period. All these spirits were worshipped with prayer and offerings of food and flowers by the father of the family and his wife and children, on rising in the morning, at meals, and on special occasions such as births or marriages. This simple family worship would no doubt be kept up in certain families down to the end of the Republic and later; but the vast majority of the city population, having no house, would have no household gods either.

The Day. The lack of any reasonably good artificial light—it was provided mainly by olive-oil—made the rule of "early to bed and early to rise" universal both in town and country. Men were at work, schools began, clients called on their patrons, before sunrise. As in Continental countries at the present day, a very light meal (*ientaculum*), consisting of a piece of bread dipped in wine, was taken on rising. Toward noon a heavier lunch (*prandium*) was eaten. The midday siesta (*meridiatio*) was by no means universal in the first century B.C.; in the the busy law-court days of Cicero there is no mention of either *prandium* or *meridiatio*. The chief meal of the day (*cena*) came about three in the afternoon, and by that time the day's work in the city seems to have been done.

Before the *cena*, in the life of the idler classes, came some exercise, such as a game of ball. There were several kinds of ball and several varieties of ball-games, but, as the ball was struck only by the hand, they would all seem very crude to us. After exercise came the bath, either at home, or in the Tiber, or in the public baths. Down to the time of Augustus these public baths (*balneae*) were privately owned. Agrippa and many of the Emperors erected enormous public buildings containing hot, tepid, and cold baths, with lounges, gymnasia, and reading-rooms.

In early times all the family *sat* round the table. In the later Republican times women still sat, but men reclined on couches. At a dinner-party it was the custom to have three couches (*lecti*) ranged along three sides of the table, and each couch held three guests. The slaves served from the inside, between table and couches. The wild revels of the Imperial palace need not be taken as typical of decent society.

Dicing was a favourite after-dinner amusement. Two kinds of dice were used: (1) *tesserae*, like our own, marked from one to six, and thrown from a dice-box (*fritillus*); two or three were thrown together and the highest number of pips won; (2) *tali*, knuckle-bones, with rounded ends and

marked on four sides, the numbers two and five being omitted; in this case four were usually thrown; the highest score (*venus*) was reckoned when they all turned up different, the lowest (*canis*) when four aces turned up.

Children played various games with nuts (*nuces*), so that the phrase *nuces relinquere* meant to put away childish things. They had also dolls, toys, and pet animals, like the children of our own days.

Dress. We have various ancient statues showing men wearing the *toga*, but we are not very certain of its exact shape or of how it was put on. It was probably semicircular, about eighteen feet along the straight edge and seven feet at the broadest part. It was first laid over the left shoulder, brought round under the right shoulder, and draped in various ways in front.

Boys and girls both wore the *toga* with the purple edge, like the magistrates. Boys assumed the man's toga *toga virilis*) at about sixteen. Married women indoors wore the *stola*, a sleeved garment reaching to the feet; out of doors they wore the *palla*, a rectangular garment, arranged somewhat like the toga. All these garments were made originally of bleached homespun wool, but in later and more luxurious times finer cloths were introduced. In wet weather and on a journey a cloak (*paenula*), with a single opening for the head, was worn; sometimes it had a hood (*cucullus*). A cap or hat (*pileus*, *petasus*) was seldom used. Under the Empire a cloak opening down the front (*lacerna*), generally of some gay colour, became fashionable; but the toga was always the correct wear for ceremonial occasions.

Education. In early times Roman education was strictly practical; its aim was to produce Romans, and almost all that was necessary for that purpose could be learned at home. The poorer classes would never get much more than that at any period, but there were plenty of elementary schools (*ludi*)—all under private management, for there was no State supervision until the times of the later Emperors—to take the

A ROMAN CITIZEN OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C. IN A TOGA

Photo W. F. Mansell and Co.

place of the home. By the first century B.C. secondary education of a literary character was supplied by teachers called *grammatici*, the Greek and Latin poets being the chief subjects. Wealthy parents provided Greek-speaking slaves (*paedagogi*) for their children, and a Roman boy often learned Greek before Latin. The final subject studied was rhetoric, the art of public speaking. This could be begun at Rome, but it was the custom for young and ambitious Romans to go abroad —to Athens and Rhodes especially—for a course of rhetoric and philosophy. Thus Athens, in some sense, was the university town of the Roman Empire. Gymnastics, music, and dancing were reckoned barely respectable in Republican times.

Books and Writing Materials. Writing that was not meant to be permanent was done on writing tablets (*pugillares*). These looked like a pair of our familiar school slates fastened together at one side. The inner side of the tablets was covered with a thin layer of wax, and this was written on with a pointed wooden or metal instrument called a *stilus*. One end of the *stilus* was rounded, and with it the writing could be erased, so that the tablets could be used again.

Books, in Cicero's time, were written chiefly on paper (*charta*) made from the papyrus plant, which grew in Egypt. The writing was arranged in columns, as with ourselves, but either on a continuous strip of papyrus or on sheets glued together so as to form a continuous strip. This strip was *rolled round* a stick (*umbilicus*), and hence was called a *volumen*. The inconvenience of such a form can easily be understood. If one were to read through a *volumen* one would be obliged on finishing it to roll it all back again round the *umbilicus* in order to leave it ready for the next reading. Accordingly another form, more like our modern books, was introduced and became common under the Empire. This was called a *codex*.

Papyrus being rather dear and also brittle, a cheaper and heavier material was also used, both for *volumina* and for

codices. This was parchment (*membrana* or *pergamena*), made from the skins of sheep or goats, and invented at Pergamus in Asia Minor.

The writing on papyrus and parchment was done with ink (*atramentum*), of which the chief ingredient seems to have been soot, and with a reed-pen (*calamus*).

Marriage. There were several forms of marriage among the Romans. The patrician form was *confarreatio*, so named because in it a cake of spelt (*far*) was broken and eaten by bridegroom and bride. Among plebeians the common form was *coemptio*, in which the bride was formally *sold* to her husband. Certain ceremonies were common to all the different forms. Betrothal (*sponsalia*) was symbolized by the ring, often with clasped hands engraved upon it, which the man gave to his betrothed. The bride, on the wedding-day, wore a flame-coloured veil (*flammeum*) and yellow shoes. Her hair was divided into six locks with a spear-shaped comb. The auspices were taken, and the bride's attendant (*pronuba*), who was a *married* woman, joined the hands of the bridal pair. Sacrifices were offered to the gods of marriage, Juno in particular ; the guests cried *Feliciter*, and all partook of a banquet. In the evening the bride was torn from her mother's arms—a reminiscence of the rape of the Sabines, or rather the origin of that story—and conducted to her new home (*deductio*) with a torchlight procession. After being lifted over the threshold to avoid the possible evil omen of stumbling, she addressed her husband in the old formula, *Ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia*, and he presented her with fire and water. On the next day she sacrificed for the first time on the altar of her new home.

Funerals. Poor people were buried or burned at night in the public cemetery on the Esquiline Hill ; the funeral of those who could afford a display took place during the day. The funeral procession contained hired mourners and musicians, men who wore the masks (*imagines*) of the dead man's ancestors—if he had the *ius imaginum*—and sometimes also

an actor who impersonated the dead man himself. After passing through the Forum, where the *laudatio* was pronounced, the procession wended its way to the place of burning (*ustrina*), which was outside the city. The body was placed with its funeral couch on the pyre, which was lighted by one of the kinsmen with averted head. The mourners cried " Farewell " (*Vale*) three times. The ashes were collected, placed in an urn, and deposited in the family vault by the side of one of the roads leading out of the city. Burial was practised in early times, but during the Republic and until Christianity became established cremation was the usual course. A funeral feast followed, and often a gladiatorial show.

Holidays and Games. Holy days and games were identical in origin ; that is to say, all games were originally in honour of some deity. The earliest games would be managed by the priests of the particular deity in whose honour the games were being held ; but most of the games of the Republican period were managed by the State, through its aediles and praetors, and one of the objects of the manager was to ensure his election to the next higher magistracy. In the last days of the Republic seventy-six days each year were devoted to the regular games, and there were many extraordinary games in addition. The games were of three kinds :

(1) *The Theatre* (*ludi scenici*). Actors were said to have been introduced from Etruria in 364 B.C., but it was not till more than a century later that plays, translated from the Greek, were first performed at Rome. They had tragedies and comedies, Greek imitations and Latin original pieces ; the only plays, however, that have come down to us complete are the comedies of Plautus and Terence, all translated or imitated from the Greek. Theatres were temporary wooden erections until Pompey's theatre was built. The theatre never attracted the Romans to any extent.

(2) *The Circus* (*ludi circenses*). Chariot-racing took place chiefly in the Circus Maximus, which in its final form was capable of seating 250,000 spectators. Usually four four-horse

chariots ran in each race or heat (*missio*); under the Empire one represented each of the four factions or colours—red (*russata*), white (*albata*), blue (*veneta*), and green (*prasina*). These games began with a procession (*pompa*), headed by the presiding magistrate, from the Capitol to the Circus. The procession first paraded round the arena; then the magistrate took his seat, and gave the signal for the start by dropping a napkin (*mappa*). The rivalry between the four colours led to heavy betting, and sometimes to broken heads. Chariot-racing was popular all over the Empire in Imperial times, in the East as much as in the West.

(3) *Gladiators* (*munera gladiatoria*). Like the actors the gladiators are said to have come first from Etruria, but the development of their exhibitions was strictly Roman and was confined to the more Roman parts of the Empire. They fought originally in the Forum and the Circus, afterward mainly in various oval-shaped buildings called amphitheatres, which culminated in the Colosseum. The gladiators fought man against man, or team against team, or man against beast. Of the first kind the favourite match consisted of a man armed only with a net and a trident (*retiarius*) against a man fully armed as a Samnite warrior. A disabled man might be spared if the crowd was in good humour; in that case they waved their handkerchiefs. If he had failed to satisfy them they turned their thumbs down (*pollice verso*) when he appealed to them, and his opponent gave him the final blow. The slaughter of wild animals (*venationes*) assumed appalling dimensions even before the end of the Republic. In 55 B.C. Pompey provided 600 lions and 20 elephants at one exhibition. At the opening of the Colosseum 5000 wild beasts were slaughtered. The gladiatorial games disappeared gradually after the official recognition of Christianity, but the chariot-racing continued to flourish for a long time thereafter.

APPENDIX I

NOTE ON ROMAN BRITAIN

The Roman occupation of Britain left hardly any permanent effect on the country: a few place-names containing the words *castra* and *colonia*, such as Chester and Lincoln, a few words in Welsh, a trace here and there in the Arthurian legends—apart from the remains of buildings, that is almost all. It is interesting to contrast the state of things in France.

Gaul and Britain, before the coming of the Romans, were occupied by kindred Celtic tribes; England and France took their names from kindred German tribes. But Gaul was so thoroughly Romanized that the original Celtic dialects survived only in Brittany, where they were kept alive by fugitives from Britain, and the Franks added little to the language except the modern name of the country. In Britain the original dialects still survive in Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, and the English imposed their language on the natives, to the total extinction of Latin. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the Franks were in contact with the Empire for centuries before the Empire broke up, whereas the English had never come under the Roman influence; but it also points to the fact that Britain was never so thoroughly Romanized as Gaul. In the fourth century A.D. two considerable Latin poets, Asconius and Rutilius, were natives of Gaul; Britain made no contribution to Latin literature, although it had been the headquarters of the Druidical teaching for Gaul as well as for its own natives. Again, there are no Roman remains in Britain to compare with the amphitheatres, aqueducts, temples, and arches which France has to show. The foundations of a large number of villas, the baths at Bath, the plan of the town of Silchester—these are almost the only civil relics that we can show; the rest of our Roman remains are all of a military character—roads, camps, and walls.

The occupation of Britain was, in fact, a mistake. If the object of the Romans was to secure a safe frontier, then an occasional military demonstration, like Caesar's, to frighten the

Britons from interfering in Gaul was all that was necessary; the attempt to conquer the island was rather an example of the imperialistic and commercial policy of aggrandizement which occasionally seized upon Senate and Emperors alike. They expected to make money out of the pearls and minerals with which the island was said to abound. Pearls and minerals were both found, but in disappointing quantities; the real mineral wealth of the country—the coal and iron of the North—was, of course, never tapped in Roman times.

Remains of villas are not found north of York or west of Exeter. We may therefore say that the country south and east of these points was fairly well settled. The expeditions of Agricola and Severus beyond the Forth were not more than demonstrations; the country between the two walls was merely held by the troops, and that only down to about A.D. 180. The permanent camp recently excavated at Newstead, near Melrose, is an illustration of how the country between the walls was held. The stone wall added by Severus in A.D. 208 to Hadrian's turf wall was a declaration that the country north of it had been definitely given up. In the southern part of the island also there were permanent garrisons. These were stationed at York, Chester, and Caerleon (near Chepstow). The most prosperous period of the Roman occupation was the third century; at that time Britain was actually able to export wheat to the legions on the Rhine. The Saxon pirates became troublesome as early as A.D. 300. Forts were built along the east and south coasts to ward off their attacks, and this part of the defence was entrusted to a special officer called the Count of the Saxon Shore. If these pirates had been allowed, or invited, to settle gradually in Britain as their kindred barbarians were in the provinces of the mainland, the history of the island might have been quite different. The Roman tradition, including the Christian religion, might have continued without a break, and another variety of the Romance languages might have grown up in Britain. As it was, contact with Rome was lost between the departure of the legions, which is usually dated A.D. 410, but may have been considerably later, and the coming of Augustine nearly two hundred years later.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PRINCIPAL DATES

B.C.

753. **Foundation of Rome.**
578–535. Servius Tullius.
510. Expulsion of the Tarquins.
509. The first consuls.
497. Battle of Lake Regillus.
494. First secession of the plebs.
493. Treaty with the Latins.
477. The Fabii at the Cremera.
451–449. Decemvirs in office.
443. Censorship created.
406–396. Siege of Veii.
390. Battle of the Allia. Capture of Rome by the Gauls.
381. Tusculum receives the *civitas*.
377–367. Agitation of Licinius and Sextius.
367. L. Sextius first plebeian consul. Temple of Concord.
364. The first *ludi scenici*.
343–341. First Samnite War.
340–338. Latin War.
327–304. Second Samnite War.
321. Surrender of the Roman army at the Caudine Forks.
312. Censorship of Appius Claudius Caecus.
310. Battle of Lake Vadimo.
298–290. Third Samnite War.
295. Battle of Sentinum.
287. Lex Hortensia.
281–275. War with Pyrrhus.
272. Capture of Tarentum.
264–241. First Punic War.
242. Battle at the Aegates Insulae.
225. Battle of Telamon (near Pisae).
219. Hannibal captures Saguntum.
218–202. Second Punic War.
218. Battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia.

B.C.

217. Battle of Lake Trasimene.
216. Battle of Cannae.
212. Marcellus captures Syracuse.
211. Romans recapture Capua.
207. Battle of the Metaurus.
202. Battle of Zama.
197. Battle of Cynoscephalae.
190. Battle of Magnesia.
184. Death of Scipio and Hannibal.
168. Battle of Pydna.
146. Destruction of Carthage and Corinth.
133. Capture of Numantia. Tiberius Gracchus tribune.
123–121. Gaius Gracchus.
112–106. War with Jugurtha.
107. Marius, consul for the first time, appointed to the command.
102. Marius, consul for the fourth time, destroys the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae.
101. Marius, consul for the fifth time, destroys the Cimbri near Vercellae.
100. Marius, consul for the sixth time, suppresses Saturninus and Glaucia.
91. M. Livius Drusus, champion of the Latins, assassinated.
91–88. Social War.
88. Sulla consul. Flight of Marius. Massacre of Romans in Asia.
87–83. Sulla in the East against Mithradates.
86. Seventh consulship and death of Marius.
82. Battle at the Colline Gate. Sulla dictator till 79.
78. Death of Sulla.
73–71. Spartacus and the Slave War.
72. Lucullus defeats Mithradates at Cabira.
72. Sertorius assassinated in Spain.
70. Pompey and Crassus consuls. Powers of the tribunes restored. Trial of Verres.
68–67. Mutiny of Lucullus' troops.
67. Lex Gabinia gives Pompey command against the pirates.
66. Lex Manilia confers on Pompey command against Mithradates.
63. Cicero consul. Conspiracy of Catiline. Death of Mithradates. Caesar *pontifex maximus*.

APPENDIX II

B.C.

60. The first triumvirate.
59. Caesar consul.
58–49. Caesar in Gaul.
58. Exile of Cicero.
56. Conference at Luca.
55. Pompey and Crassus consuls.
53. Battle of Carrhae. Death of Crassus.
52. Milo kills Clodius. Pompey sole consul. Vercingetorix surrenders to Caesar.
49. Caesar crosses the Rubicon. Battle of Ilerda. Caesar dictator.
48. Battle of Pharsalus. Death of Pompey.
47. Battle of Zela.
46. Battle of Thapsus.
45. Battle of Munda.
44. Caesar assassinated.
43. Battles at Mutina. The second triumvirate.
42. Battles at Philippi. Death of Brutus and Cassius.
36. Agrippa crushes Sextus Pompeius.
31. Battle of Actium.
30. Death of Antony and Cleopatra.
27. Octavian receives title of Augustus.
23. Augustus receives the *tribunicia potestas* for life.

A.D.

9. Defeat of Varus in Germany.
14. Death of Augustus.
19. Death of Germanicus in Syria.
37. Death of Tiberius.
37–41. Gaius Caligula.
41–54. Claudius.
43. Claudius in Britain.
54–68. Nero.
59. Murder of Agrippina.
61. Boadicea.
64. Great fire at Rome. Persecution of the Christians.
69–79. Vespasian.
70. Titus captures Jerusalem.
79–81. Titus.
79. Destruction of Pompeii.
81–96. Domitian.

A.D.
78–85. Agricola in Britain.
96–98. Nerva.
98–117. Trajan.
106. Dacia annexed.
117–138. Hadrian.
122. Hadrian's Wall built.
138–161. Antoninus Pius.
143. Wall of Antonine.
161–180. Marcus Aurelius (with Verus until 169).
180–193. Commodus.
197–211. Septimius Severus.
208–211. Severus in Britain.
212. Edict of Caracalla.
227. Persian Empire succeeds Parthian.
250. Decius persecutes the Christians.
255. Goths invade Illyricum and Macedonia.
260. Valerian captured by the Persians.
272. Aurelian captures Zenobia.
284–305. Diocletian.
313. Edict of Milan.
330. Constantinople founded.
361–363. Julian the Apostate.
378. Battle of Adrianople.
390. Massacre at Thessalonica. Penance of Theodosius.
408. Death of Stilicho.
410. Alaric captures Rome.
439. Vandals capture Carthage.
451. Battle of Châlons.
455. Vandals sack Rome.
476–493. Odoacer king in Italy.
493–526. Theodoric king in Italy.
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